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PLANNING FOR INDIA

THE FUTURE OF JAPAN

INDIAN ECONOMIC EFFICIENCY

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THE ASIATIC REVIEW

JULY 1945

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE INDIAN LEGISLATURE IN WAR TIME -

BY SIR FREDERICK JAMES OBE

In considering the subject of today it is to be borne in mind that the Central Legislature belongs to the 1919 Constitution which came into full effect in January 1921 and that the present Legislative Assembly was elected eleven years ago.

The elected members number 102 the nominated officials 20 and there are 19 nominated non-officials to represent various interests—e.g. Indian Christians land holders Anglo-Indians commerce and industry depressed classes etc.

The present strength of the various parties is as follows Congress 37 Muslim League 25 Congress Nationalists 10 European Group 9, nominated non-officials 19 members who are not attached to any particular party 21. Some of the unattached members belonged to the Independent Party which was organized under the leadership of Sir Henry Gidney a few years ago but which rapidly disintegrated after his death. The party in the ordinary sense was merely a collection of individuals.

During the past five years the legislative output of the Central Legislature has been considerable considering the long intervals between sessions and the shortness of the sessions. No less than 185 Bills have become law. This is beaten by the legislative activity of the Governor-General in the same period whose output was 195 Ordinances—1 every 9½ days. His Excellency is always in session though some times in inconvenient places.

Interest in the proceedings fluctuated. The Congress Party moved from boycott in 1939 to attendance to reject the Finance Bill in November 1940 attendance by members in their individual discretion in the monsoon of 1943 attendance as and when necessary in the early part of 1944, and finally attendance without qualification from the autumn of 1944 to the present day. The Muslim League has been more constant, only walking out in the autumn of 1941 on the ground that co-operation was not wanted. It came back next session.

FEDERATION POSTPONED

The outbreak of hostilities was announced by Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan as Leader of the Assembly on September 4, 1939. In the absence of Congress Mr Jinnah was temporary Leader of Opposition. The Defence of India Bill was supported by all other parties (including the Muslim League) except the Congress Nationalists. The Viceroy's speech to the Central Legislature on September 11, 1939 appealing for unity during the war contained the disappointing tragic but possibly inevitable announcement that preparations for Federation had been postponed. Had H.M. Government been a little firmer the 1935 Government Act might have been in operation today. If so the political picture would have been very different and India might well have achieved in reality, the position of a Dominion both in status and in function. Today in spite of Sir Feroz Khan Noon's elated imagination India is very far from that position and everybody knows it.

The first war Budget in 1940 showed an estimated expenditure of Rs. 92 crores

(of which Rs. 533 crores was on defence). Since then the expenditure has risen to an estimated Rs. 517 crores for 1945-46, of which Rs. 390 crores is on defence. Central revenues have increased from Rs. 85 crores in 1940-41 to Rs. 353 crores for 1945-46.

The Congress Working Committee's declaration that the war is being fought by Britain for imperialistic ends set the tone of their attitude, which remains fundamentally the same to this day. During the debate on the Finance Bill Sir M. Zafarulla Khan said: "To my people I will say this: that they have today within their reach the reality of freedom if they have the courage, the confidence and the magnanimity to grasp it. That is still true today."

Sir Jeremy Bentham's first Finance Bill was passed in the absence of the Congress Party, but the Supplementary Bill was rejected by two votes—the Congress Party members turning up to vote for the purpose. I have seldom heard such bitter speeches. Indian members of the Viceroy's Council were described as "professional loyalists", British policy in India was placed on a par with Hitlerism, the Gurkhas and Sikhs were described as "hurelings" and mercenaries. Mr Jinnah for the Muslim League offered co-operation, but on terms which in effect meant a 50 per cent share in the Government. 1940 was a gloomy and depressing year in the Legislature only relieved by occasional hilarity such as the censure motion on the subject of the vagaries of the Grand Trunk Express, and the memorial from the Ticketless Travellers' Association protesting against a Bill providing for penalties for those who travelled without tickets.

In passing I may refer to the National Service (European British Subjects) Act, which replaced the Ordinance which had been promulgated at the request of the European community in India applying conscription to all men of military age. I have noticed some correspondence in the Press on the subject of British women in India and war work. On the whole, they have done a fine job. It is sometimes forgotten that those who were recently registered do not include the many women who are in the Women's Auxiliary Corps, India and other Government services connected with defence. I can speak with some authority, for my wife was Chief Commander of the W.A.C.s for the first two years of its existence, of the contribution which European women made in the early days of that organization, in providing its first platoon commanders and other officers. Indeed had it not been for the women of the European and Anglo-Indian communities the Corps would never have reached its present strength.

THE MIDDLE YEARS

1941 was a comparatively quiet year. Congress absented itself, only making a token attendance in the autumn session to save members from disqualifying themselves. The Muslim League walked out on one occasion on the ground that their co-operation was not wanted and that they refused to be the camp followers of the British Government, but they soon walked in again.

During 1942 great events took place outside the Legislature which had their effect upon its work. The concluding stages of the Budget session were deprived of their interest by the presence in Delhi of Sir Stafford Cripps, and by his urgent, single-handed but gallant attempt to secure the approval of the Congress and the Muslim League to the Draft Declaration of H.M. Government known as the Cripps proposals, with which you all are familiar at least in outline.

His mission was not discussed in the Legislature, as all parties agreed that it would be embarrassing to do so while negotiations were in progress. The negotiations failed for reasons that are now fairly obvious. Then followed the disastrous disturbances of August, 1942, which, during the September session, were almost universally condemned. No party attempted to excuse them, though there were some attempts at explanation. Indeed, the Muslim League complained that Government, with all its sources of information, should have known that this movement was afoot, and charged it with following a policy of appeasement to the Congress. The League again offered co-operation on its own terms.

The Budget session of 1943 was overshadowed by Mr. Gandhi's fast and the excitement it caused. The atmosphere was charged with high emotion, and the prospect

of his death while still in detention caused the resignation of three prominent members of the Government of India. An adjournment motion on the subject was talked out, but the debate was distinguished by a remarkable speech by the Home Member, Sir Reginald Maxwell. In the meantime the food crisis in Bengal had deepened, and in the November session there was a debate which lasted for several days, and which ended in a united demand for a Committee of Enquiry into the causes of the famine. The result was the appointment of the Commission, presided over by Sir John Woodhead, the Chairman of your Council. The publication of the report is eagerly awaited. During the monsoon session of this year at least a dozen Congress members attended in defiance of their party's mandate, but in the interests of their constituents.

CHANGING ATTITUDE OF CONGRESS

In 1944 the Congress decided to attend the Legislature as and when necessary and the Budget session was notable for Lord Wavell's first speech in the Central Legislature and the rejection of the Finance Bill by two votes. By the end of the year the Congress Party had decided to attend sessions without any qualification and there was a change of tone in the speeches of its leader. He now claimed that (a) Congress was anti Axis and had no doubt as to the justice of the war (b) the resolution of August, 1942, was misrepresented and the disturbances deeply regretted (c) Congress was willing to co-operate in forming a National Government, (d) there was evidence of an increased desire to go back to the Cripps proposals.

From this time on until now the Congress and the Muslim League have co-operated in the Assembly in defeating the Government whenever possible in discrediting the Executive and in particular the Indian members thereof and generally in pressing their demand for a national or representative Government. Hence the repeated defeats of Government, the rejection of the Finance Bill and of the demand for the salaries of the Executive Councillors this session. Indeed, very hard words have been heaped upon the Indian members of the Government, such as traitor, collaborator, Vichyist etc. Fortunately up to date no bones have been broken!

IRRESPONSIBILITY

The Central Legislature has the virtues of neither the British Parliament nor the American Congress. The Government of India is independent of the Legislature in the sense that its existence does not depend upon its maintaining the support of the majority of the members in the Assembly. Whatever may be the number of defeats inflicted upon the Executive it continues in office. This arrangement is presumably based upon the assumption that the Legislature will recognize its limitations and co-operate as far as possible with the Government of the day. But when the two main parties are determined to vote against Government on all major occasions in order to show their dissatisfaction with the general political and constitutional position in the country, then the Government is left in a permanent minority. The Opposition, by defeating Government, know full well that they will not be immediately charged with the responsibility of forming an alternative administration, and thus of reconciling their criticisms with the burdens of actual government. When this state of affairs becomes permanent the inevitable result is a sense of frustration, a tendency to irresponsible action, and a measure of irritation on both sides. This in its turn leads to a decline in the level of parliamentary debate and it is significant that the standard of discussion in the Council of State where Government has an impregnable position and is unlikely ever to be defeated is now higher than it is in the Assembly.

UNNATURAL AND ARTIFICIAL

The fact is that the voting in the Assembly on the Budget, the Finance Bill, adjournment motions and the like often has little to do with the merits of the question at issue. The Finance Bill this year was not rejected on merits, which were considerable, but for general political and constitutional reasons. Parties are dissatisfied with the present position. It is unnatural and artificial. There is much

unity on the demand for an interim National Government at the Centre, representing the major parties. The precise composition of such a Government is not declared nor is the support of the major political parties to such a Government guaranteed. It would, indeed, be a transformation, and, on the whole, a welcome one, if there were installed a Government at the Centre, pledged to the support of the war against Japan which had the support of the main parties in the Legislature and of the major parties in the country. It would be better able to deal with the many problems, economic, political and constitutional, which will face India after the war.

There were lobby rumours that agreement has been reached on the composition of such a Government, working under the present constitution for the present, between the Leader of the Congress Party and the Deputy Leader of the Muslim Party, but they are rumours, and have been categorically denied on more than one occasion. But they persist. Men's minds are turning to co-operation and responsibility which is a good sign. All I can say is that the present set-up at the Centre is not satisfactory and is not really adequate to bring India successfully from the war period to the post war period—a most difficult and dangerous period, quite apart from the many constitutional problems ahead. I sincerely hope that something can be done in the near future to strengthen the Centre, politically and administratively, and give it a greater sanction of public support.

It would be ungracious to refrain from paying a tribute to those, and particularly the Indian members of the Government of India, who have undertaken posts of responsibility during these difficult days. It required courage to do so. Some of these members signed their own political death warrants when they took office. Others made considerable sacrifice of a different character. All knew that they would have to face the criticisms of their countrymen. They are entitled to our respect for what they have done, and we should not forget their services in our preoccupations with future changes. They also are patriots in the service of their country.

POST WAR RECONSTRUCTION

During the most recent session of the Legislature there have been some highly controversial debates. Much attention has been devoted to post war developments in the economic field, and the Planning and Development Member came under heavy fire from three quarters. The Congress challenged both the ability and the right of the present Government to make plans for the future. The Muslim League saw in this department's activities the dominance of big business in which that community has little share, and a threat to the policy of the partition of India, on which the League has set its heart. The European Group seems to be suspicious that agriculture may be neglected and industrial development fall into the hands of a small but powerful group of Indian industrialists who are supposed to be not too friendly to British interests. An interesting debate took place on Chapter III of the Government of India Act, 1935, generally known as the 'Commercial Safeguards Chapter', in which the case of both sides was stated with reasonable moderation. But in spite of highly controversial debates the feeling in the Central Legislature has been more friendly during the past session than for many sessions past. This, in part, may be due to the rapidly unfolding international scene, and partly due to the feeling that India is on the eve of great changes which will test to the full the professions and abilities of all parties. The shadow of responsibility sometimes moderates the wildest extremists.

The Central Legislature is now out of date. The last election was in 1934. A fresh election would be desirable, as soon as administratively convenient and politically expedient. But an election, by itself, will solve nothing, and will not necessarily bring the composition of the Legislature into harmony with the requirements of modern India. Only a constitutional change can do that. In the meantime the Central Legislature will continue to be based on a fairly restricted franchise, and be a thoroughly property-conscious body. The great mass of labour organized or not and the trade union movements, are scarcely represented. Mr N M Joshi is the only representative of labour as such. He is now the Father of the House, who, while voting almost consistently against the Government which nominates him, retains the respect and affection of all parties by his honesty of purpose and intellectual integrity.

Mr Jammadas Mehta represented the Railwaymen's Federation until recently, and played a notable part in steadying that vital and important body of men. He had no doubt as to the part labour should play in this war. But that is only two in a House of 140. Commerce and industry both Indian and European, on the other hand, are well represented. The 50 million Depressed Classes are represented by two members in a House in which most of the general seats are occupied by Caste Hindus.

The modern Defence Services are unrepresented. New forces are moving in India, and once the restrictions and obligations of the war period are removed they may cause many surprises. They should be represented in any Central Legislature that may exist. Indeed, I would urge after the next General Election the reallocation of the seats in the gift of Government in such a way as to give increased representation to labour, the Depressed Classes, the Defence Services, and some of the minority communities now inadequately represented, until a new Constitution takes the place of the present.

DEFECTS IN WORKING

Government have not always taken the Central Legislature really seriously. They have no parliamentary organization of their own, no permanent whip's office, no parliamentary secretaries to act as a liaison between Government members and the various parties in the House. There is no Government party as such. Government members present themselves to the Legislature as departmental heads, and not as members of a ministry with a common policy. Government have at their disposal thirty-nine nominated seats, but have seldom made adequate use of them, and with some notable exceptions are content to nominate silent members who make little contribution to the Legislature either in thought or in debate. The result is that usually the responsibility for presenting the Government case rests upon the Government member concerned, and not all are skilled or effective debaters. Government intervention is often not planned, and therefore is ineffective or too late.

The Rules of Procedure in the Assembly require revision. They are wasteful of time and encourage irrelevance. The procedure on demands for grants and the presentation of the Finance Bill results in long rambling debates and fruitless discussions on cut motions. Departmental estimates are not presented by the Government members in charge with an explanation of their achievements during the current year or of their policy for the future. They are moved formally by the Finance Member and the Department then waits to be attacked by cut motions of Rs. 100 or more! Indeed, the Government of India seem to have accepted the view that their main rôle in the Legislature is to be attacked, criticized and lampooned. They certainly get all that, but this does not develop a healthy parliamentary life, or a sense of responsibility. The Central Legislature is practically the only all India forum in which Government policies can be explained and advocated. The debates, both in the Assembly and in the Council of State, are widely published in the Press, but the net result is, quite often, 75 per cent. of criticism and 25 per cent. of defence. Government do not sufficiently use the Legislature for the purpose of explaining or testing policy, and the rules of procedure are such that most of its members have little opportunity of doing so.

INFLUENCE OF THE LEGISLATURE

I should not be understood to imply that the Government of India are indifferent to the Legislature. Far from it. The Legislature exercises considerable influence through its power of interpellation, its right to pass resolutions recommending action to the Governor-General in Council, its power to vote supplies and its committee work. A question often galvanizes a department into activity. I know from experience that to give notice of a question may revive a dormant file, or result in marked attention being paid to the subject matter by the member in charge. Notice of a resolution can affect policy. A motion for a reduction in a particular grant sometimes causes a pang of conscience, a chill of apprehension, or, at the least, a desperate desire to explain. The work of committees can be useful both to Government and to the members, if it is taken seriously by both sides. Thus indirect influence of the Legislature is considerable. Its very existence is a check. In the words of the Simon Commission: "Under a pure bureaucracy, officials are apt to make a fetish of effi-

ciency and to fail to give due place to the importance of acceptance by the governed of the proposals of the rulers. This weakness can be best counteracted by close contact with the unofficial mind. We believe that the members of the Central Legislature have performed this useful function, and that their influence has often been beneficial.

Even in the strainful days of war I believe that has still been true. There is one observation I would add. The Central Legislature is so obsessed by its constitutional position and by the politics of India that it has devoted singularly little time to the development of the war, or to the needs of India's Defence Services. In fact during some sessions the progress of the war has hardly obtruded itself, except in connection with taxation and controls both distasteful subjects. Latterly there has been a welcome change, and members of all parties, even of those who regard India's soldiers, sailors and airmen as mercenaries or rice soldiers, have taken an increasing interest in India's magnificent fighting services. This is largely due to the efforts of the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Claude Auchinleck, who commands the respect and confidence of all and who is the finest Public Relations Officer India could possibly have. He has done much to bring the Services and their duties and needs to the attention of the Indian public and I was glad to note the interest displayed the other day by all sections of the Assembly in the question of the welfare of the Indian forces serving overseas. That is all to the good and although some of the criticisms may be uninformed I am sure the interest shown is welcomed by the Commander-in-Chief.

Although there are a number of standing committees now increased to one for each Department work in the Central Legislature proceeds at a leisurely pace. Questions, supplementaries and adjournment motions take up an undue proportion of the time available which on most days is only 3½ hours at the maximum. The idea of extended or late sittings is unpopular in both official and non-official circles.

INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS

Party discipline is fairly good though there is a growing tendency for the tail to wag the dog in most parties and particularly in the Congress Party. In debate Mr Bhulabhai Desai its leader and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan the deputy leader of the Muslim League have established an easy ascendancy over their respective parties and indeed over the House as a whole. Mr Jinnah seldom attends and by his absence the Legislature has lost some of its glamour. His deputy has advanced steadily in reputation as a parliamentary leader and debater.

All miss the genial Sir Henry Gidney who did so much for his community and was respected by all parties. His successor Mr Frank Anthony is a good though florid speaker and is leading his community to identify itself more and more with Indian nationalism. In this process he sometimes uses the rough edge of his tongue but he doubtless believes that this policy will repay those whom he represents in the long run. It is certainly welcomed by the Indian Nationalists. One of the veterans of the House is Sir Cowasjee Jehangir at times an eloquent and courageous debater, wealthy but democratic. He is a friend of all and is listened to with attention and respect.

The venerable Presidents of the Council of State and the Assembly the masterful Sir Maneckji Dadabhai and the judicial Sir Abdur Rahim continue to preside over their respective Houses with ability and firmness. They have done much to establish healthy traditions of debate and to enhance the position and influence of the Chair. In this they are supported by the members of all parties.

On the Government side Sir Ramaswami Mudaliyar is undoubtedly the Rupert of debate whose torrential eloquence and quick wit can both provoke and dismay. Of war-time leaders of the Assembly I mention Sir Muhammad Zafulla Khan whose speech is like ice—clear and cutting. Mr Aney (now representing the Government of India in Ceylon), gesticulatory and shrewd who knew the mind of the Congress and its Mahatma as few do, and now Sir Sultan Ahmad always suave and gentlemanly but, above all, courageous.

I have no time to mention other outstanding members but I must refer to Sir Jeremy Raisman who has just left us after six years as Finance Member. He proved

a good parliamentarian patient in debate and powerful in exposition. Whatever may have to be said in the House, there is general recognition of his services to India and of the fidelity with which through most difficult times he has defended the interests of the country which he served for so long.

SERVING A USEFUL PURPOSE

The Central Legislature in spite of its defects, is the one body in which elected representatives from all parts of British India meet from time to time. During the sessions there are many lobby contacts and social occasions which help members to understand the points of view of others. It is true that the controversies of the war have at times thrown their shadow over personal relations, and indeed over long standing friendships. But these shadows pass in the course of time and there is today an underlying friendliness on all sides which blunts the edge of controversy.

Although a subordinate and much restricted legislative body the Central Legislature has a corporate life and a corporate feeling and when its position or privileges are attacked all members stand together. In spite of its anomalies its limitations and its frustrations I believe that it has served a useful purpose during the war. If it had not been in existence perhaps the country would have had much greater cause for complaint. Its persistent interpellations (and they have been several thousands during the past five years), its insistence upon safeguarding civil liberties its concentration upon the food situation its pressure for control over expenditure its advocacy sometimes rude and rough of the rights of Indians overseas its protests against alleged racial discrimination in the Services and elsewhere its constant ventilation of grievances its claim for safeguards against the inroads of bureaucracy and above all its insistent demand voiced with great intensity during the past five years for a political settlement in India and for a constitutional settlement between India and Britain in other words for freedom from the control of others—all these are healthy signs in the body politic and should neither be ignored nor discouraged.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the Association on Tuesday, May 1, 1945 at the Caxton Hall, Caxton Street, W 1 Sir FREDERICK JAMES OBE read the foregoing paper entitled *The Indian Legislature in War Time*.

Sir REGINALD MAYWELL presided and said that Sir Frederick James sat as an elected member representing a European constituency in the Indian Legislative Assembly from 1932 onwards and his observations were therefore awaited with great interest.

After the reading of the paper

The CHAIRMAN said that he could look back on the years in which he was associated with Sir Frederick James in the work of the Legislative Assembly, and he remembered with gratitude his friendly face and encouragement in 1938 when he had to move consideration of a Bill for the prevention of cruelty to animals. Sir Frederick in representing a European group occupied an excellent position for observation he was a member of the only group which considered proposals on their merits and he could take a somewhat different point of view from his own.

The paper had given a most comprehensive review of the working of the Assembly. There were several points peculiar to the war period one of which was the prolongation of the life of the Assembly. There were reasons for this which seemed to be convincing from time to time that it was inevitable as it was in England to

prolong the life of Parliament. The result was that the Assembly was an out-of-date body. Did that make any difference? Sir Frederick James had pointed out that a newly elected Assembly could not have been more representative a general election would only produce a new version of the existing body without new ideas. This question of representation would be one of the most difficult tasks for the framers of the future Constitution. Meanwhile no real loss was occasioned by the fact that the existing members had been in their places for some eleven years.

One consequence of the extension of the life of the Assembly was that an Assembly elected under the 1919 Constitution found itself transferred to the 1937 Constitution in respect of the allocation of subjects to the Centre and to the Provinces. Members who had grown up in the Assembly under the old Constitution found it impossible to realize that the introduction of Provincial autonomy very much curtailed their own legitimate scope, and it was one of the constant difficulties of Government to convince them that they could not raise any subjects in the Assembly if they were the appropriate concern of the Provinces and a great deal of latitude had to be allowed.

The second point on which war conditions affected the Legislature was the use of ordinances. That meant of course, that the Assembly was to some extent side tracked for the purpose of urgent war requirements. Nobody regarded it as a desirable procedure but it was necessary for the reason that the volume of work could not have been got through by the ordinary processes.

The third point was the absence of the Congress Party the largest single party in the Assembly from 1939 to 1944 which meant that many of the constituencies remained unrepresented. In fact, the Congress members deserted their constituents at the moment of chief strain and danger when their constituents needed them most. The members of the Congress were not withdrawn by the Working Committee in direct connection with the entry of India into the war but they were withdrawn from the session beginning on August 30 1939 just before the war actually broke out. The pretext given was that Indian troops had been sent to Egypt and Singapore.

Sir Frederick James had mentioned the occasion when they returned in order to oppose the Supplementary Finance Bill. He also was present at that discussion and remembered the kind of speech to which Sir Frederick referred, and he found it difficult to reconcile those speeches with the suave utterances of the present leader of the Congress party. Quite apart from their attitude to the Supplementary Finance Bill the Congress repeatedly made clear their attitude towards the war and in the light of that one could only say that their absence was a blessing scarcely disguised. There was an effect on the resulting level of debate which became duller but not shorter. But others took their place and one felt that the nationalist point of view was sufficiently expressed.

The debate on the 1942 disturbances took place in the absence of Congress and showed a sober realization of the seriousness of the situation. This debate and the debate on the adjournment motion in connection with Mr. Gandhi's fast showed that when the course of events caused real concern to the members of the Assembly it could rise above the mere desire to score political debating points and could discuss affairs with moderation and a sense of responsibility.

Many of Sir Frederick James's remarks referred not particularly to the war but to the working of the Indian Legislative Assembly in general and it must be acknowledged that it showed considerable power of debate. The Council of State was especially distinguished in that respect, and the debates generally showed a fair level of good temper and courtesy. One remarkable fact was the respect shown to the Chair in both Houses. Both Presidents showed great skill in the conduct of debates and in keeping order.

Another point worth mentioning was that the whole business of the Assembly took place in a language which was foreign to practically all the members present and that fact would explain the occasional extravagances of expression and over-emphatic words which were used. Most Indians who took part in the debates showed themselves more fluent than most British speakers. There was a considerable sense of humour in the House, the members being very quick to pick up a humorous point.

Sir Frederick had put his finger on the serious defects which characterized proceedings in the Assembly. There was too much waste of time, too many people wished to speak and their speeches were far too long, and the President had very little power to shorten the proceedings. There was a considerable misuse of question time so much so that during the war there had to be an understanding that only questions which could be answered readily without reference to the Provinces and which had some visible utility would be answered the answers to others being suspended.

The use of adjournment motions was reduced to an absurdity because at the beginning of every session there was a list of twenty thirty or forty of them and it took a long time to deal with them all. It was always possible that someone would move a further one, very often dealing with something which should not be debated in the Assembly at all.

Sir Frederick had mentioned the financial motions. Non-official business took up too much time but it showed a decrease during late years because the Government decided that the time of the Provinces could not be taken up by the circulation of non-official Bills. Resolutions were rather a trial but they often raised interesting and important subjects and gave the non-official members an opportunity of ventilating their views.

The rules of procedure did require revision although the consent of the House would be necessary. The difficulties were not confined to the Central Legislature but were visible in the Provinces where responsible Ministries were working and where there had been a great misuse of the powers of obstruction.

On the whole India showed considerable aptitude for Parliamentary institutions perhaps too much, but if the Parliamentary system was to work properly the need for control of the freedom of individual members must be realized and the rules allow far less latitude. Sir Frederick's criticisms of organization on the Government side were well deserved, but the nominated seats were not all available for non-officials. The procedure did hinder the presentation of the Government cases for example as Home Member he seldom spoke except under the time limit for a resolution cut motion or adjournment motion.

Sir Frederick had made some pertinent observations on the constitutional position its effect on the attitude and usefulness of the Legislature and its relations with the executive Government. The advent of the war prevented the introduction of federal government at the Centre and left the Central Government under the 1919 Constitution so far as the Legislature was concerned. This postponement did not substitute during the war period any new relation between the Government and the Legislature for that already existing it merely continued what had been in force ever since the 1919 Constitution came into effect with all its weaknesses and disadvantages and much of what Sir Frederick James said would have been applicable at any time.

The problem to which it gave rise was 'What happens when an immovable executive meets an irresponsible Legislature?' and the answer was that each blamed the other for getting in the way. Sir Frederick had given an accurate diagnosis of the resulting lack of adjustment and its effect on the attitude of legislators. That relations should be as good as they were was a tribute to both sides. He always had a fair hearing and had never met with deliberate rudeness or personal hostility. The Indian members were attacked much more violently and well deserved Sir Frederick's tribute to their courage and patriotism. No Government responsible for good administration and unable to resign and cast the burden on its opponents should be left in such a position. A non-removable executive was not necessarily a bad thing but either it should owe its authority to the Legislature as in Switzerland or the Legislature should have reduced power and become a deliberative and advisory body.

But with all the defects inherent in the present system he would entirely agree with Sir Frederick James's conclusion that the Indian Legislature had served a useful purpose during the war. He did not believe that an executive, however well disposed, could properly govern a country unless it held itself answerable to some body which was free to express the views of the governed. While the Government of India was not formally responsible to the Legislature, it was really responsive to it in practice, and the Legislature had considerable power of bringing effective pressure

to bear on it. He wished that this truth were more generally recognized in India, if it were there might be a change in the attitude of sections of the Legislature which now regarded opposition to Government as the only form of constitutional expression open to them. The present arrangement was admittedly transitional but, if parties were prepared to make the best of it, did not deny them scope for much healthy and useful parliamentary life.

Colonel R. A. ARMSTRONG (Empire Parliamentary Association) said that there were one or two points on which he would like to comment. The Lecturer mentioned that the Government of India did not always pay the attention to the views of the Legislative Assembly that it might and this was true. In 1919 a very controversial Bill was introduced into the Legislative Council and all the non-official members voted against it on the ground that the Bill was intended to make permanent certain measures with regard to closing down political meetings and arresting people for sedition as a result of the Commission under Lord Justice Rowlatt. The Government did not take the advice of the non-official members, and proceeded to go on with the Bill whereupon the 1919 disturbances broke out including the affair at Amritsar. At this juncture the Viceroy acted under an ordinance of 1857 or even earlier and did not bring the Act into effect and the disturbances came to an end. That was an occasion when the views of the non-official members were well worth listening to.

Sir Frederick had spoken about the very bitter speeches made in the Legislative Assembly and the Chairman had mentioned the difficulty of speaking in another language. It was perhaps difficult for English people to realize that language was used differently by different people. The Englishman used language as meaning something explicit but in other countries language was used far more rhetorically and poetically and in the future the example of the Prime Minister must be followed and we must not dwell over much on the bitter speeches delivered by people who used language in a different way from ourselves.

To anybody like himself who loved India and wished to see her within the British Commonwealth of Nations he would recommend the study of the position of Ireland and how the Irish troubles and disturbances did or did not achieve independence and her present position. Everybody would learn a great deal from that and what had happened in one nation which had achieved Commonwealth status and perhaps avoid the mistakes of which there had been some.

Mr CHINNA DURAI recalled that when Dr McIntyre was elected to Parliament and endeavoured to enter the Commons without being sponsored contrary to established practice and tradition he was not allowed to enter and then he knew where he stood and altered his conduct. Some such check ought to be introduced into the Indian Legislative Assembly in the interests of discipline of Congress members who were inclined to be discourteous by sitting down when they ought to stand up. That kind of behaviour cut both ways as it was apt to breed discourtesy all round and even gave licence to the Moslems to sneer at Bande Mataram and dishonour the Congress flag.

He was impressed with Sir Frederick James's reference to the Viceroy's Council. The members of that Council had been very much criticized they had been called traitors Vichyites and quislings but these were the men who gave India the necessary correct lead at a most critical time in her history. They were present at the recent Empire Conference they were attending the San Francisco meeting and they were everywhere face to face with world affairs and in so doing gained a world out look and invaluable experience for themselves and India. In the years that lie ahead they were bound to be a pillar of strength to India as a whole.

The Congress Party on the other hand walked out they practised non violence and non-co-operation when there were urgent things waiting to be attended to in India's interests, and as a result its members had lost experience which might have been very valuable, they also lost their influence with their own people and with the world. This attitude of theirs was not confined to the war period alone. Before the war when there were heaps to be done to ensure the happiness of the masses of

India they persistently pursued a policy of obstruction. All the time they were not only denying themselves splendid opportunities for service but wantonly depriving themselves of the experiences that went with them. There would be very many weighty and knotty problems to be settled in the future so far as India's welfare was concerned and he would like to see India guided and helped by men who really knew their job.

Now that it was obvious that almost the whole world including Soviet Russia and America had felt the benefit from partnership with Britain perhaps India would feel also that association and partnership with Britain were not things to be despised and instead of the Congress members venting their spleen against Britain all the time they would be able to say to her 'Come on we will work together for the good of India'.

SIR FREDERICK JAMES in reply fully agreed with Colonel Armstrong, that one should not dwell too much upon the bitter speeches, although in the period of which he spoke those who made them knew what they were saying and used their words with care and deliberation. That period had gone and now there was a far better feeling amongst all parties in the Legislature than had been the case for some years and he looked forward very greatly to further improvement in the days to come.

He was glad that the Chairman agreed that the Legislature had performed a very useful service during the war. He was conscious that he spoke from the point of view of a non-official member and that he approached these matters from a somewhat different point of view. In spite of all he thought that the Legislature during the last twenty-five years even as it was now constituted had been useful. He had learned a great deal from it and above all had made some of his best Indian friends in it and that meant something to one who had spent the bulk of his life in a country which was so complex in its problems and yet which drew the heart strings of anybody who had lived there for any length of time.

SIR WALTER WILLSON voiced the thanks of the meeting to the Chairman for presiding at the meeting and for his contribution to the debate. Sir Frederick James was not in the Legislative Assembly during his own period and for that reason he had found the up-to-date lecture most interesting. There was much comfort in hearing that the atmosphere was so much better now than in the last few years. In his own day there was the greatest friendship between Indian and European members but after he left there was a period when relations became very strained which was regrettable. That relations were now much more cordial meant that one could feel more optimistic about the future.

A POLITICAL PLAN FOR INDIA

By A. K. PILLAI, BARRISTER AT-LAW

(Representative in London of the Radical Democratic Party)

THE VISIT of H.E. the Viceroy to London to confer with H.M. Government on the war against Japan and on constitutional issues as also recent discussions in *The Times* go to emphasize the urgency of the Indian political problem. The intense earnestness with which the subject was treated and the number of distinguished men participating in it serve to underline its importance. Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State has in a published interview once again made it clear that H.M. Government is deeply concerned over the problem and anxious to see it settled. In this the Government has been marching with the times and the growing public sentiment in Britain. He drew attention to the very important and radical change in the attitude of Parliament towards India during the last ten years.

Before that time Parliament always claimed to be the arbiter of India's political destiny and the ultimate right to decide the form of government for India.

Even when a great stride forward was taken by the Declaration of August, 1917, that Britain's policy was the progressive realization of responsible government for India, Parliament deliberately reserved the right to determine the pace and manner of such realization. That no longer has been the position since the Declaration of March 29, 1942, by which the right to determine India's Constitution is left to India herself.

After such a decision one naturally expected an immediate change for the better in the Indian situation. Instead, there has been a continued deterioration. Out of the confusion no clear way seems to be in sight. Those who had been united in their demand for national independence were left hopelessly divided by the immediate prospect of planning for sovereign power. The promised withdrawal of the third party far from bringing the Indian leaders together, has served to alienate them from each other and generally to heighten the political tension. This does not, however, mean that any of them desires the third party to remain. Their mutual distrust is so insurmountable that they would rather tolerate the *status quo*. While they pretend to distrust Britain's plighted word, what they actually fear is that she might carry out her promise before they had individually strengthened their bargaining position among themselves.

But the *status quo* cannot continue; it must sooner than later dissolve under the impact of internal and international forces. The British Government has stated that it will do nothing to impede India's progress. And no honest man who knows the well known facts of the situation entertains any reasonable doubts in this behalf. That is not, however, to say that all are agreed as to the political wisdom of a do-nothing policy in a time of crisis. It is not enough that Britain promises Indians a free hand and even invites them to act. In the given situation it may lead nowhere. Consequently an attitude of benevolent neutrality on the part of Britain will not produce conditions to further India's freedom or progress.

BRITISH POLICY

A resolve to do nothing to impede India's progress is merely negative. What is required is readiness to take all necessary steps in order that freedom and progress may be actively promoted. That certainly is not interfering in domestic affairs of India as one recent correspondent in *The Times* erroneously suggested. Non interference in the internal policies of the Dominions is a correct policy for Britain, but India is not yet a Dominion, and Britain's judicious and timely intervention alone will help India towards the attainment of a like status. When Britain recognizes her inevitable share of responsibility in Italy and Greece, and other liberated countries to which her obligation is indirect, she cannot possibly withdraw from her obvious and direct responsibility *vis-à-vis* India, whose history for the last two hundred years bulks so largely in her own history.

India's problems, difficult as they are, have largely issued out of her experiences of these years of British association. Britain therefore cannot disclaim her part in those problems. Her responsibility towards India will not have been discharged by somehow withdrawing from the scene, much less by the promise to withdraw, to which the Cripps Declaration of March, 1942, so definitely committed Britain. If with that declaration so lately reaffirmed, Britain's moral position has been considerably strengthened, her corresponding responsibility has still more increased.

By its very nature the problem demands a two-way settlement, on the one hand between Britain and India and on the other among the different parties in India herself. By Britain's offer to leave all power in the hands of Indians when the latter have come to some working agreement as to the basis of the transfer, Britain's part of the settlement may be said to be virtually complete. The Cripps offer embodied a final surrender of British power, even envisaging the possibility of India walking out of the Commonwealth and Empire, when all has been offered there is nothing more to give.

ECONOMIC BACKWARDNESS

Britain still has a principal responsibility to discharge, that of leaving India in an orderly state, in conditions of freedom and progress. She has done a great deal

already in the matter of consolidation of the sub-continent and its unification under one legal and administrative system with an ever-growing national consciousness and an effective common language. But underneath these achievements lies a deep gap of social insecurity and want due to the utter economic backwardness of the masses.

This backwardness, representing pre industrial standards of living for the bulk of the people, has affected all aspects of corporate life. While in diplomatic spheres India is treated on a par with the Dominions, politically Indians are at a lower level than the people of Jamaica, who enjoy universal adult franchise, there the working-classes have gained such effective representation that in a recent election they returned a Labour Government to power. The ratio of literacy in British India compares unfavourably even with that of some of the Indian States. The condition of the rural population is deplorable. The Central Assembly at Delhi, which is the supreme legislative authority, is drawn from an incredibly small electorate, representing much less than three per cent. of the population concerned. The right to vote is based on property.

India's size on the one hand and illiteracy of the people on the other are given as the excuse for this denial of political right to the vast millions. India's continental dimensions cannot be argued out both ways. Those who oppose Pakistan, for example, argue that to destroy India's geographical unity one of the greatest achievements of British rule is to throw away its inestimable advantages in both economic and political spheres. A little reflection will show that universal education and adult franchise are not incompatible with the large size of the country or its population. We have the example of the U.S.S.R. and the United States of America. What was achieved in Ceylon in about two years—namely, extension of franchise to all adults on a literacy qualification—could possibly be achieved in India in at least four years. For educational and electoral purposes India should be divided into so many compact administrative areas with all the adults organized into local people's committees.

NEGLECTED LONG TERM PLANNING

The fact is that the British Government in India was without a long term outlook. Its policy remained one of keeping law and order and preferred to let sleeping dogs lie. The earlier administrators like Bentinck, Macaulay and Dalhousie were inspired by bold visions and comprehensive ideas. But the Sepoy Mutiny produced such unpleasant reactions on the British side as to discourage innovations and radical measures. The Proclamation of 1857 marked the commencement of an era of half measures and cautious and halting steps. In the name of respect for religious sentiments and ancient customs the forces of social reaction and decay were allowed free play in the settled atmosphere of *pax Britannica*. The District Collector (of taxes) became the symbol and keystone of this orderly administration. Along with law and order a state of social backwardness prevailed.

Out of this incongruous situation of an efficient and modern administrative system existing side by side with mediæval conditions arose a crop of social and political problems. The much regretted social aloofness sometimes seen between the Asiatics on the one hand and the Europeans on the other may be largely traceable to the fact that fifteenth-century conditions could not be harmonized with twentieth-century standards. In order to bridge the gulf reforms were attempted from time to time, but being half-measures they did not produce the desired results. But the laws of social dynamics never ceased to operate. Problems began to grow more pressing. The two wars have accelerated the pace of this silent internal process. The pot may boil over at any moment. Britain, with her undivided responsibility towards the Indian people cannot sit back. She has to take a big hand in the settlement of the entire Indian problem, some positive action demonstrably in the interests of the people.

THE ORDINARY MAN

The people were disregarded and the old political parties were taken to be everything.

That has been a dangerous illusion. If the people of India had ranged themselves behind those parties they would not have been found fighting on the side of the United Nations. For the Congress Party remained throughout openly hostile to

the allied war effort, while the Muslim League pursued a line of neutrality. Yet India's contribution to the war against the Axis has been admittedly magnificent. To the acknowledgments made by eminent statesmen of this country has now been added President Roosevelt's testimony expressed in eloquent terms. It should, therefore, be clear that the India of the people was much bigger and far more important than the definitely narrow and decadent Nationalist India of old parties and stagnant politics. The two and a half million young men who have composed the great volunteer army of India, rendering a glorious account of themselves in the different theatres of war and several millions working in the factories and the fields producing the essential war materials, have, of course, come from that other India of the common people. They are no longer content to be bargaining counters at the disposal of ambitious nationalism nor will they be content to remain mere hewers of wood and drawers of water in their own country.

In the light of these developments the responsibility of British democracy towards India must needs be realized and the Cripps offer reviewed. The situation in which the offer was made was an extraordinary one. That moment was critical both for India and Britain. The danger appearing so imminent and time being the most important consideration, the offer was made to the old parties. In spite of the generous and far reaching character of the offer, it was rejected by them. The people were outside its immediate reach. It is possible that if the offer were accepted and implemented it would have resulted in the enthronement of a caste-ridden oligarchy to the serious detriment of the nascent Indian democracy. The results would have been equally harmful to the future of Indo-British relations.

INDUSTRIALISTS' ACTIVITIES

The situation remains ominous for the people at large as secondary motives and immediate considerations might still influence His Majesty's Government to try yet a new deal with the old parties. A section of the British public has been insisting that the Government ought to begin where the Cripps mission ended. Some do so out of a sense of embarrassment arising from American reactions influenced by the clever Congress propaganda in that country. Others do so believing that Indian Big Business can be counted as allies in the post-war period and therefore the Bania parties must be wooed. I submit that this is a false view to take.

For one thing Indian Big Business is already on the warpath. Its leaders have not concealed their master plan to capture the Middle Eastern and Far Eastern markets either vacated by Japan or to be presently seized from Britain. Because of the essential conflicts of interests involved in the relations between the Indian and British capitalists as the former appreciates the situation their agents are seeking an alliance with American industrialists and financiers. The latter are offered the temptation of a strategic base in India with her teeming millions and abundant natural resources, providing at once a vast reserve of cheap labour and unlimited prospects of exploitation. The pro-Congress opinions so vigorously expressed in the American Isolationist Press are, one may be pardoned in saying, not altogether disinterested.

Britain's ultimate interests, no less than her own sense of responsibility to history ought to determine her course of action in a different direction. History should not have to record that Britain's long and progressive association with India, accidentally started with trade, was deliberately ended in a sordid deal with India's exploiting classes, and that the people were betrayed in the bargain. Surely the Crown did not supersede the East India Company's rule and assume direct responsibility only to hand it over to a body of Indian tradesmen. A recent editorial in *The Times* has taken full cognizance of a widespread apprehension existing among Indians in this regard. It observed: "Like labour industrial and rural the Depressed classes fear the engrossment of political authority in India by the formidable combination of the Brahmins and the Banias. The fear is shared by the bulk of the Indian people and it cannot be disregarded."

The British people will doubtless need India's co-operation as India would need theirs. But it is only the people's India that has no conflict of interest with Britain. It has been the people's India which was ranged on the side of British Democracy in the darkest period of the war. In the post-war period, too, Britain will find in

the same quarter her natural allies. But are the British people conscious of it? What is needed is not mere sentiment, but a realistic appreciation of the factors in the situation.

Let us consider for a moment the economic factor. The position in this respect is best summed up in the words of Mr. Ernest Bevin, Minister of Labour and National Service, uttered in London a few days ago. If the standard of living in India is raised the people of India will become better comrades and better traders with us. Indian people for their part desire to remain with Britain because of the liberating influences of her democratic system.

HIGHER STANDARDS

The urgent problem of India from the point of view of the people is a higher standard of living for the masses. Industrialization for plenty and prosperity as distinguished from production for profit is the obvious solution. But it must take time. Meanwhile India's vast and increasing needs for consumer goods as well as plants, machinery and technical services will in the first instance be referred to Britain and Britain may be able to meet them to a large extent. This, if well arranged, will be of great advantage to both countries. A large export trade constitutes the vital condition for Britain's survival as a great power and India's co-operation in the economic field is no less important than in the defence organization of the Commonwealth.

A PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT

An internal capitalist system will, on the other hand, only follow the inevitable path towards economic nationalism. Planning in that context will be for the production of commercial goods which could be sold outside for a high profit. British industries working under the advanced conditions of economic democracy will find it very hard indeed to compete with a system based on cheap labour and cheap materials backed by an all-powerful oligarchy of financial interests. Besides the four hundred millions in India with their low standard of living and slender purchasing power must cause the most depressing effects upon the world's general security and welfare. The post-war Britain may probably be hit hardest in that eventuality. Only a democratic India in which the common people will have come into their own can prevent such a thing happening. India's political future thus assumes a special importance to all concerned and the question therefore is this: Will not Britain summon her enlightened self-interest and courage to take a big hand in time so to arrange the Indian affairs which are still under her direct responsibility, as definitely to help the people towards framing a Constitution of their own? On Britain's attitude to this question depends a great deal of the future of both countries. Unless the people have their full share in the framing of the future Constitution the Government that may emerge will not be theirs.

The Cripps offer, having been rejected by the political parties but reaffirmed by the Government, should now be deemed a promise made to the people at large and the performance implicit in the promise must rest with those who made it. Government should not wait on the doorsteps of the Indian leaders for creating the pre-conditions necessary for the realization of the declared objective. While the Constitution-making must be left to the people themselves the initial measures such as are manifestly necessary to enable them to do their part freely and fairly remain the task of the Government. That is what I mean when I say that His Majesty's Government must resume the initiative and take a big step towards the solution of the Indian problem. The solution is a joint responsibility of the Indian people and the British Government. But the former are left helpless until they are liberated from their present political and economic handicaps. To leave it to the Indians to form their future Constitution while the bulk of the people will remain disfranchised and at the mercy of the landlords and moneylenders is virtually to hand them over with their fetters intact to the small privileged class, who will have thus been enabled to assume absolute power over India's destiny.

THE PROGRAMME

For the effective fulfilment of the pledges implicit in the Declaration of March, 1942, which public opinion in Britain is united as never before in the determination to honour, the Government will have to plan a comprehensive programme for immediate execution, as well as providing for a long-term plan. The outline of what I regard as the necessary steps I now give is based on proposals contained in a Draft Constitution prepared by Mr M N Roy and endorsed and published for discussion by the Radical Democratic Party.

Firstly an authoritative announcement on the part of H M Government stating the whole policy and indicating the course of action. The statement must make it definite that the essential part of the Cripps offer stands—namely, the recognition of the paramount right of the people of India to frame their own Constitution, but that the summoning of the Constituent Assembly may not necessarily be within a year after the end of the war with Japan. It will be arranged as soon as reasonably possible, the decisive condition being the minimum necessary preparation of the people for discharging their sovereign responsibility.

Alongside the statement of policy must be published the programme of administrative and legislative measures manifestly needed to enable the largest possible percentage of the people to determine their future Constitution. Such a programme must be planned and executed with all the sense of urgency that characterized the successful preparations for D-Day. What is necessary is the resoluteness of purpose and the elimination of doubtful and divided loyalties from the counsels of the Government.

This brings me to the second step in the suggested line of action. That is to form an *interim* council for the Viceroy with men new and old who could be relied on to carry out the programme without reservation and would publicly pledge their word accordingly. The transitional measures will have to be conceived in comprehensive and realistic terms without ideological favour or fear, but solely to meet the requirements of the situation squarely so that the political settlement in view may not be a jerry built prefabrication but a solid structure that promises to endure and serve. And these measures must therefore comprise urgent economic and agrarian reforms, extended franchise and efficient electoral arrangements.

Hand in hand with these measures must go an extensive educational campaign throughout the country for which the two million young men returning from the forces may be largely utilized. They will be able to bring to the task a liberal and non-partisan outlook and disciplined efficiency. Orderly propaganda by different political parties on fundamental principles of the new Constitution and the form of government they suggest may at the same time be permitted to be carried on among the people. Such reasonable facilities as are necessary to ensure a fair chance to all parties may have to be provided, subject to one condition—namely that all propaganda clearly tending to favour a Fascist régime should be taboo.

In submitting the above demands I am not asking for more than what the British Cabinet has promised to the people of Greece and Italy or the Provisional Government has promised to the peoples of Yugoslavia. The people of India have at least an equally good claim on the consideration of His Majesty's Government. After all the Indian people have been comrades in arms with the British people in the fight for democracy everywhere.

THE FUTURE IN OUTLINE

I may conclude by mentioning some of the features which the future Constitution, in the view of the Radical Democratic Party, will probably have to have for its successful working.

(i) India to be a Union of fully autonomous States, the effective sovereignty residing with the people of each State exercising it through a fully elected Legislature.

(ii) The States to delegate specified powers and spheres of administration to the Union, which cannot, in the nature of the conditions existing in India, be a rigid federal structure. The delegated powers will include defence, foreign trade and inland transport and postal services.

(iii) The associating States to be left constitutionally free to separate, thus providing against any need to fight. At the same time, the spirit and working of the Constitution as well as every provision in it must be such as to promote an abiding unity of purpose and united Government at the centre

(iv) In order to allay the existing apprehensions which the Muslims entertain the present provincial boundaries might have to be rearranged so as to facilitate the formation of a reasonable number of Muslim States

(v) The emphasis should be shifted from the top part of the constitutional structure to its foundations and the local units must be invested with an effective share in the day-to-day affairs of the State

(vi) Each local unit must be organized into a People's Committee comprising the entire adult population of the area. This Committee besides other duties of a local administrative nature will have to function as the electoral college of the constituency which arrangement would help solve the obvious difficulties now raised against the proposition of adult franchise.

(vii) The Constitution to embody a declaration of Fundamental Rights guaranteeing every form of civil liberty to the individual and every freedom to the different communities, cultures and creeds. These rights must be made justiciable at the instance of any aggrieved party by a Supreme Court.

(viii) The Union Government must be so composed and provision must be so made as to ensure the effective representation of all important minorities in the administrative functions

(ix) The Executive of the member States shall be subject to the control of the Legislature but may not be removed except on a vote of no confidence by a two-thirds majority

(x) There shall be a Statutory Planning Authority in the Federal Union placed above political pressure, composed of eminent economists and scientists whose task it will be to reorganize the economic life of the country so as to provide every citizen with the material requirements for civilized existence including adequate leisure

To the Indian Democrats what is of fundamental importance is not so much India's geographical unity or its formal independence as the practical realization that the people remain free, prosperous and happy within its frontiers and they live at peace and unity with the nations outside. In the view of the Radical Democratic Party which it has been my privilege to interpret to you here, the issue of Independence *versus* Dominion Status is fast growing obsolete. The future of India will be decided above all upon the measure of democratic freedom and social progress and the best means of attaining them. The new India emerging out of the war years would indeed prefer to be linked up with the liberating influences of the British Commonwealth and accelerate its further progressive evolution as a free association of free peoples

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Caxton Street, S.W. 1, on Wednesday April 11, 1945 when Mr. A. K. PILLAI, Barrister at Law, gave an address on "A Political Plan for India". Mr. HUGH MOLSON, M.P., presided and briefly introduced Mr. Pillai as the representative in London of the Radical Democratic Party.

Before reading his paper Mr. PILLAI expressed his gratitude to the Association for providing him with an opportunity to state his views. The Indian problem was not only a concern of India but equally of the British Government and because of its strategic position, of the whole world.

The CHAIRMAN said that Mr Pillai and the Radical Democratic Party were assured of a sympathetic hearing when they said that the urgent problem of India was a higher standard of living for the masses, and that in comparison with that problem the issue of independence versus dominion status was fast growing obsolete. This idea represented progress in Indian politics. It had long seemed tragic to sympathetic students of India that so much energy had been devoted to arid constitutional and communal disputes and so little to the industrial and agricultural development of India. Political liberty would not mean much to the average *ryot* unless it gave him a higher standard of living and economic security. Mr Pillai's plan for a settlement of the constitutional dispute in a manner which would encourage industrialization with British help in the interests alike of Great Britain and India, could therefore be endorsed wholeheartedly. He would agree that if the Cripps offer had been accepted in 1942 it might have resulted in the enthronement of a caste-ridden oligarchy, and that the giving of self-government to India might not have been to the benefit of the Indian masses for whom the British Government was trustee.

Sympathetic as he felt towards Mr Pillai's proposals, he did not find in them an entirely satisfactory answer to the constitutional problem. He was willing to treat the problem as subsidiary to the economic elevation of the Indian people but that was not likely to ensue unless there was an Indian Constitution which could give an effective and sympathetic lead to industry. This was one of the objections to the proposals for weakening the Central Government.

In all other countries economic policy in its widest form was becoming increasingly the responsibility of the Government. A multiplicity of departments were being set up because it was found that industrial development was intimately and inseparably connected with such matters as land control transport and communications. Similarly national finance banking and insurance were related to the problem. Full employment would only be possible if all departments co-operated in a single plan to attain this end. Any great devolution of authority from the Central Government of India to Provincial Governments would make such a policy impossible and would, in fact not be a progressive but a retrograde step.

Mr Pillai had limited the union to specified powers and spheres of administration delegated by the States and amongst the delegated powers he included foreign trade, but not apparently domestic trade—the most striking illustration perhaps, of how it was proposed to split up the matters which for sound administration should be kept in the hands of a single department.

A widely discussed solution of India's communal differences was the breaking up of the unity of India but no Constitution could of itself provide a solution for the jealousies and animosities of human society. There were minority problems in any country with a unified Government. In Europe in the nineteenth century many restless minorities were kept under control by Central Governments yet it was the most peaceful century Europe had ever known. The triumph of the spirit of nationalism in 1918 granted these minorities sovereign independence which they used to conduct economic warfare which was always threatening to erupt into international bloodshed. He would implore Indians not lightly to exchange the lesser trials and troubles of communal friction under one Central Government for the greater danger of war between autonomous Indian States.

SIR HARRY HAIN said that everyone would sympathize with Mr Pillai's view that the peasant and worker's economic uplift should be kept in mind but how was it to be ensured constitutionally? He thought Mr Pillai was inclined to find a magic formula in a very wide extension of the franchise. As he had said the present Legislative Assembly was elected on a restricted franchise a legacy of the Montagu-Chelmsford Constitution, but the 1935 Constitution had extended the franchise very widely in the Provinces.

The history of the general election in the United Provinces in 1937 was very interesting, the result of which was an overwhelming victory for the Congress because that was the only party which was organized. If other parties wanted power they must organize in order to secure it. It was to be regretted that the great experiment started in 1937 by the introduction of Provincial Constitutions was brought to

an end in 1939, because he would like to have seen how it would have developed during the last five years.

The Congress Party were in power in the United Provinces for nearly two and a half years. They came in with most attractive promises to the electorate and did a good deal towards redeeming those promises. Economic questions received a great deal of attention and the position of tenants was greatly improved but with all this there were signs at the end that the party had not anything like the popularity with which they started. Had there been another organized party they might have had their opportunity to show what they could do in due course. It required very hard work and much money to organize a successful political party. There was, however, no other way of safeguarding the common man than by the ordinary working of democracy.

Mr H S L. POLAK said that Mr Pillai had indicated the existence of a new political and economic movement which was trying to be independent of existing authoritarian bodies but how far the Radical Democratic Party was able effectively to speak and act in the name of the Indian people was another matter.

In India as elsewhere, the real lines of division were horizontal and not vertical as they were often supposed to be. He had often felt like asking his Indian friends what was the caste or religion of the human stomach, they all required to be adequately filled and the bodies which contained them to be clothed and housed. Mr Pillai's party must show that it could effectively appeal to mass sentiment not only in the towns and nearby villages, but it must be prepared to go into the countryside and move among the people so that it might be said to represent and speak for the people. Were the leaders of that party willing to do so?

What Mr Pillai had suggested was not a short term policy but a long term policy and for that were required not only funds but the character and capacity for sacrifice which would produce a response from the masses of the people on whose behalf sacrifices were made. People must stand on their own feet and not be invited to climb on to the shoulders of others.

SIR HENRY SHARP said that he shared Mr Pillai's hopes for the India of the future and especially for its masses, upon whom our interests and obligations really centred. He beheld with admiration Mr Pillai's constructive views and hoped they would be fulfilled but he had some doubts.

There were two difficulties one of which had been voiced by the Chairman and the other by Sir Harry Haig. The first was the initiating and ensuring of the continuance of some form of democratic Constitution in India. The form of government more or less imposed upon India was exotic. He had himself been a member of the Central Legislature both in the old days of the Legislative Council and afterwards from 1921. It had all been very interesting, the usual procedure of the House of Commons was carried out most ceremoniously and he had listened to most eloquent speeches but he felt that the root of the matter was not there. India was not traditionally democratic, the traditional form of government in India was autocratic rather than democratic. Nor was there that homogeneity in the population which would make democracy run smoothly and, finally there were the troubles pointed out by Sir Harry Haig. There was the question of the large constituencies, in which not 15 per cent of the population was literate and to make the whole population literate more than the present revenue of India would be required.

The second point of criticism had already been mentioned by the Chairman. It concerned the Central Federal Government. For other reasons apart from economics, that Federal Government must be fairly rigid and must be strong otherwise it would disintegrate in a few years' time. History taught us that weak federations could not survive.

Mr A. D. BONARJEE said that he knew very little about politics and economics but he was an Indian, and the more he read and heard about political plans for India the sadder he felt, because every plan tacitly acknowledged the existence of the cleavage amongst Indians, but made no effort to heal it. Much was said about differences in

religion, but he was sure that every Hindu worshipped in his own way perhaps, the one God who presided over the whole of the universe. Mohammedans, Jews and Christians all worshipped the same God, who is the Father of them all, and India is their Mother. All Indians were brothers and sisters, and the sooner they realized that their Motherland's good must come first and sectional differences must take second place, the sooner would they achieve the unity so desirable. Once that unity was reached the future problem of India would have solved itself.

SIR LANCELOT GRAHAM said that it was easy to make paper Constitutions, but in his opinion Mr Pillai's *Future in Outline* was entirely unworkable even over a long period of years. There was no single completely autonomous State in existence in India at the moment: the Provinces had received certain powers under the Montagu-Chelmsford Constitution which formed the first step in the direction towards a Federal Constitution and set up a separation between the powers of the Central Government and of the Provinces. In order to get the proposed Union of fully autonomous States, India was first to be divided into autonomous States, and the first problem to be solved was how the powers of the Centre were to be distributed among the States and the second problem when this distribution had taken place, was how to bring the autonomous States back into a Union. Mr Pillai had said that when the Union was formed the separate autonomous States would proceed to delegate specified powers and spheres of administration to the Centre, but who would specify those powers? The delegated powers were apparently intended to include finance, foreign trade, inland transport, including railways, and postal services, but could it be known that the autonomous States would agree to make the proposed delegations? He did not know whether the autonomous States first to be created would not be so enamoured of their vast powers that they would be unwilling to part with them, or whether they would have the wisdom to realize that it was impossible to administer a country the size of India without an effective Central Government. He would suggest that the position and history of the old North American colonies should be visualized by all framers of Federal Constitutions. India's constitutional future could not be settled by two lines on a slip of paper. How would the contemplated autonomous States be created? Under the unitary system of Government the Provinces exercised only powers delegated from the Centre and the first step towards their emancipation was not by further delegation but by devolution, which meant a real separation between the Centre and the Provinces. The beginning in this direction was made under the Montagu-Chelmsford Constitution, and the 1935 Constitution came a great deal nearer to being a real Federal Constitution with complete separation right through between Provincial Powers on the one side and Central Powers on the other but it presupposed a strong Central Government and what the lecturer and his friends proposed to do was to abolish the existing Central Government and then leave it to the new full-powered Provinces to recreate it in an invertebrate form as the repository of certain delegated powers. He could not see any prospect of a stable Constitution being built on these foundations.

SIR WILLIAM BARTON said that Mr Pillai's lecture was very timely in that it recalled the danger which might be incurred if the British Government, in its attempt to appease frustration and bitterness should put a strong Hindu oligarchy into power. The problem of India was the problem of the peasant. The 1935 Act placed power in the countryside: the illiteracy and ignorance of the peasant made him an easy prey of the demagogue: the result was to put the Congress in power. Nothing was done to help the peasant. In a book called *A Time for Greatness* the author referred to an aphorism by an American constitutionalist to the effect that whatever gave power to people which they were unable to wield took it away from them. Mr Pillai proposed that the Constitution of India should be based on adult suffrage, and apparently would set up a temporary Government which would educate the peasant in politics. Would the effect be to neutralize Congress? To benefit the peasant the next move should be in the economic field. The Government of India had elaborate schemes for the rehabilitation of agriculture, but they were not sufficiently definite to appeal to the countryside. Plans should be made which would make it clear to

the peasants, who had done so much in the war that something in return was to be done for them, tell them that they could have land if they wanted it, and that help would be given them to clear debts. The debt was estimated at £1,400,000 this might be cut by half. Another important step was that Government should take the responsibility for stabilizing agricultural prices.

The programme which had been drawn up would mean work for the intelligentsia and for the thousands of young Indian officers serving in the new armies. There were vast schemes of hydro-electric development, for cottage industries, and for industry generally and if the young Hindu intelligentsia could be convinced that they would find congenial employment after the war there would be a much healthier atmosphere in India.

Mr PILLAI, in reply to the discussion, said that the main criticisms had centred round two points: first, how the autonomous States were to be created and whether it was desirable to divide India into a number of States. He thought the answer was provided by an editorial article in *The Economist* which he read.

The fact must be recognized that unity did not exist and that it could not be created by Constitution. Events showed that the Muslims would not allow themselves to be treated as a small minority. They were about a hundred million and claimed the right to be autonomous and it was useless to point out the difficulties because after all the art of politics was to meet the actual needs of the situation and not hanker after the ideal. Muslims did not want to be a statutory minority for all time, they needed a settled status as a national unit. The idea of autonomy was already active. The Bengal famine occurred because the Central Government conceived that Bengal was an autonomous State and did not wish to interfere in its internal affairs. The Indian States claimed to be absolutely sovereign States. If they could all be brought within the framework of a Federation which should not be a rigid one but could be perhaps an improvement on the U.S.S.R. Constitution why should not a bold beginning be made?

The second point was how to ensure the economic standards of the people. He had not suggested that the Constitution must provide detailed regulations of wages and a better standard of living. What he had suggested was that the British Government had a responsibility towards the Indian people not to leave them tied hand and foot as they were now by the laws of its own creation as for example the Permanent Settlement. The British Government must not quit India until the people were freed by extension of franchise to all adults and liberation of the peasants from economic shackles. There would still be difficulties even if the vote were given to the peasants if they were left under the domination of the landlords. Liberation had been promised to the Greek and the Yugoslav people: why not to the Indian people towards whom the responsibility of the British Government was more direct? If that could be done the Government would cease to be British and would become the national Government of India. By so doing they would strengthen the hands of parties such as the Radical Democratic Party who envisaged a closer association between the two countries to the greater advantage of both.

The Radical Democratic Party was of the people. During the past four years its membership had increased from 1,300 to 140,000 which showed that there was an increasing response to its policy and programme. The political influence of the party actually exceeded its numerical strength.

Sir REGINALD MAXWELL proposed a hearty vote of thanks to Mr Pillai for his interesting and suggestive paper, which was accorded by applause.

THE BEVIN TRAINING SCHEME ITS RELATION TO THE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF INDIA

BY E. WATSON SMYTH, M.A., F.R.S., F.I.A., M.I.F.

WHEN it fell to my lot to organize the Training Scheme I am about to describe I was pleased to renew thereby a long family association with India. It goes back some 150 years. One of my forebears John Smyth, was a Lieutenant in the Madras Native Infantry under the East India Company and died at Palamcottah in 1819. His daughter married Sir William Bissett, a General in the Indian Army. Their great grandson was Colonel Charles Grant who won the V.C. for a very gallant deed towards the end of last century. My father, C. E. Smyth, may still be remembered by those whose time in India was between the years 1870 to 1902; he was succeeded in India by my cousin, Sir Robert Watson Smyth, who was long a member of your Association. My uncle Colonel Walter Smyth was in the Indian Army from 1870 to 1900 and commanded the Chitral Expedition, for which he received the C.B. My brother Lieut.-Colonel Chas. Watson Smyth was also in the Indian Army from 1900 to 1921. Finally the grandson of Colonel Walter Smyth is now a Major in the 9th Gurkhas. My personal acquaintance with India however amounts only to spending the early part of my life in Calcutta, but it is gratifying to render some service to a country of which my family has eaten the salt for so many generations.

It is an ill wind that blows nobody any good, yet I think it can be said with some truth that this time the vast world upheaval has conferred certain lasting benefits upon Indian engineering and her heavy industries. The modernization, expansion and equipping of Indian industry has in fact been greatly accelerated and in the space of a few years it has now reached a stage comparable with that attained by industry in this country at the end of the period known as the industrial revolution with few of its attendant trials and tribulations.

Great Britain has played no small part in assisting this war time development of Indian industry both by sending between 300 and 400 experienced instructors to India to help training schemes and also by the bringing of skilled Indian technicians to this country for training. It is about the latter aspect of the development of Indian industry that I speak today.

In the years preceding the war it was patent that the inclusion of Japan within the Axis had one object—the neutralization of British forces in the East and the elimination of supplies of raw materials and assistance from India and other parts of the Empire in the East if and when the Western members of the Axis started their fight for world domination. Furthermore it was recognized that Italy's position in the Mediterranean would make the short sea route from Great Britain to India extremely hazardous, and might if Gibraltar were attacked lead to the possible closure of the Mediterranean for British shipping.

India has always been a peace loving nation, mainly devoted to agriculture and the arts and it is only within recent years that she has developed her heavy industries to any great extent. It was therefore fairly obvious that if she was involved in a world wide conflict she must be given the power to defend herself and to become largely self-sufficing in the production of munitions should Great Britain be unable to supply her adequately with the necessities of war.

OBJECTS OF THE SCHEME

With admirable foresight the Minister of Labour and National Service Mr. Ernest Bevin—with every encouragement from Mr. Amery the Secretary of State for India—conceived a scheme for bringing to England for training selected Indian technicians with the object of making them competent to undertake supervisory posts in the Indian ordnance factories and munitions industry so that in this way they would contribute to the vast expansion of the Indian engineering industry which was so urgently and imperatively necessary. As a result a training scheme was inaugurated

in April 1941 and this has become known colloquially as the Bevin Training Scheme—the cost being borne by H.M. Government. The first batch of boys (as we call them) arrived in this country on May 8 of that year. They were given an official welcome both by my Minister and Mr. Amery and a number of important Indian officials.

The primary object of the scheme is to speed the expansion of the Indian munitions industry by giving a comprehensive experience of up-to-date methods of production which covers all fields of the engineering industry from the most intricate instrument making and repairing to the heavier crafts of fitting and machining, with the latest type of machinery and equipment and an insight of works organization and particularly labour management.

This by itself, however, is not enough. It will generally be agreed that for modern industry to function smoothly a prime essential is the establishment of complete confidence between employer and worker coupled with proper machinery for wage negotiations, and in order to attain this an adequate works organization is necessary. In this country we have long recognized this to be essential and in consequence our Trade Union movement has now become established as part of British industry. It therefore follows that one aim of the Bevin Training Scheme must be to inculcate the general principles of the trade union movement and its value in industrial organization. In this we have had the whole-hearted co-operation of the trade unions themselves. During the acclimatization period of these boys weekly lectures are given by prominent trade union officials dealing with the growth and development of the movement in this country so that when at a later date the youths are placed in industries for the completion of their training they are conversant with the general principles of British industrial organization.

Another point that would seem worth referring to here is the fact that when these boys are placed with various industrial concerns up and down the country they are welcomed at the local branch meetings of the various trade unions. They thus obtain first-hand knowledge of the day-to-day workings of the unions and the methods adopted for co-operation with employers in smoothing out the hundred and one difficulties which must of necessity arise in the running of industry.

We hope that in time these boys who have returned to India will be able to use the knowledge they have thus gained to assist in the setting up of sound labour organizations with beneficial results to the economic life of India and the raising of the status and general standard of living of the Indian workers.

It is interesting to note that we have already received evidence that boys who have returned have in several cases already established a Bevin Boys Association and as this is the first time I have used this somewhat hackneyed phrase Bevin Boys I would like to point out that our Indian trainees were known throughout this country and India as Bevin Boys long before the press stole our thunder and decided that the coalmining ballotee lads should be so named.

At first batches of fifty trainees were brought over at regular intervals for approximately six months' training but as the scheme became established the training was extended and each batch now receives at least eight months' training in this country.

SELECTION IN INDIA

The Indian National Labour Tribunals do the selection in India and the ages of the young men average between 20 and 30. Originally one of the qualifying conditions for inclusion in the scheme was at least three years' experience in Indian industry but as this appeared to operate unfavourably in the case of members of the depressed classes this condition has now been waived and we accept young men with one year's industrial experience but only on the condition that they have been through a full course at one of the Indian Training Centres. It is too early at present to say whether this relaxation has been advantageous or not as it was only towards the end of last year that boys in this category were recruited in India.

I think I should at this stage like to make special reference to the assistance which we have been able to give to the Indian aircraft industry. As you know before the war that industry as such was only a small affair. With the growth, however, of

the Royal Indian Air Force and the setting up of aircraft factories it became a matter of vital importance to find means of increasing the number of men with the necessary experience and skill to maintain and service aircraft and to staff the expanding aircraft factories. We made arrangements, therefore, for batches of boys coming to this country to be increased progressively from the original 50 up to 100 by the inclusion of a proportion to be specially earmarked for training in work on aero-engines and air frames. With the kind co-operation of the Air Ministry and the Ministry of Aircraft Production we have been able to arrange a curriculum of training which would otherwise be unobtainable.

These aircraft boys spend a substantial period with our R A F Maintenance Units, where they are given an opportunity of servicing all types of aircraft, and they are also placed with firms in the civil repair organizations where they are able to specialize on particular types of aircraft and aero-engines. It was found necessary, however, to extend the period of training given to these aero trainees to at least nine months so that on their return to India they are fully competent to handle complete repairs and overhauls of all types of aircraft.

EARLY WEEKS IN BRITAIN

On arriving in this country the Bevin trainees are sent for a period of acclimatization to our Letchworth Government Training Centre and are housed in a special Indian hostel. Considerable attention has been given to the equipment so that every thing is done for the comfort of the young men. The hostel is under the charge of an Indian superintendent, Mr K. S. Mahmud, M A, who is responsible for looking after the boys' welfare not only there but also when they are subsequently placed with various firms for training. I cannot adequately express my appreciation for the wonderful work that Mr Mahmud has done. He must be one in a million. He has a way with him and has come to be looked on by these boys as *ma bap* (father and mother). I consider that a large measure of the success of this scheme is due to his unremitting devotion.

The hostel has been specially equipped for the housing of these young Indians. Attention for instance, is given to central heating, and we have arranged that the sleeping accommodation should provide for each boy having his own separate cubicle, although this does not mean that we encourage these boys to segregate themselves. It is in fact, our policy that, irrespective of differences of creed or religion the boys should take part in all the social activities at the hostel and we have found that under Mr Mahmud's influence they get along extraordinarily well together. This perhaps is all the more surprising when I tell you that there are often eight or nine different religions represented in each batch coming over. Is it too much to hope that this fraternization may eventually have some influence on the future unity of India?

I referred to acclimatization—actually the more correct description would be introducing British habits, customs and food. The boys usually stop at the hostel for about eight weeks, during which time they are carefully vetted as to their technical ability and suitable training is given them at the Government Training Centre. At the end of the two months when they go into industry they are duly equipped to mix with the British working men and are accustomed to the kind of food that they are likely to receive while living in lodgings in industrial areas.

On arrival at Letchworth each trainee is provided with a membership card of the hostel on production of which he can get special price concessions in local cinemas, theatres, tennis courts, etc. besides admission to the local swimming pool which is free of charge. The local residents have been almost overwhelming in their hospitality—they formed a local reception committee for this purpose, consisting of well known and influential residents and many social activities are organized by this body.

Then with regard to payment each trainee is paid a settling-in grant of 10s., and during the period that he stops at the hostel he receives an allowance of 12s. 6d. a week. When the trainees leave Letchworth to take their training in industry the allowance paid is 6s. per week, out of which it is usually expected that lodgings cost 3s. which includes bed, breakfast and a hot meal in the evening, and full

board over the week-end. From the balance of 33s. it is expected that they pay for their own lunches, laundry, shoe repairs etc. A further "settling-in grant" of 24s. 6d. is paid immediately before leaving Letchworth to take up training in an employers' establishment. This ensures that they have some pocket-money on arriving at their destination. Generally, their treatment may be described as both adequate and generous.

RECEPTION IN FACTORIES

I think I can say without fear of contradiction that the scheme has been eminently successful but when we first approached firms to ask for their assistance in providing the necessary training we met with some hesitancy. In many cases previous experience with Indians in British industry had been with students who having received their preliminary training under University conditions were generally not prepared to take their coats off and really get down to the job. We were however able to persuade firms that the selected boys were coming over for practical training and furthermore they were under no illusion as to what they would be required to do. I am glad to be able to say firms who have had our Bevin trainees are almost without exception full of praise for the way in which they have applied themselves to their work and the ready manner in which they have absorbed instruction.

We have been most agreeably surprised at the general excellence of the knowledge of the English language both spoken and written these boys have shown. They have a voracious appetite for knowledge and a power of assimilation which is quite astounding when you take into consideration their lack in many cases of industrial experience. Some of them have achieved technical attainments of a very high order, and I suggest with such men at its disposal India need have no fear of her ability to compete with the highly developed industry of other nations.

We attach the very greatest importance to the welfare of these young men throughout their stay in this country. Everything possible is done to ensure their health and comfort. If, for instance, dental, optical or medical treatment is required it is provided free of cost. In all big industrial areas in this country the Ministry of Labour have local Welfare Officers and it is his duty to look after the well-being of all transferred war workers. He makes the care of these young Indians a special responsibility. He finds suitable lodgings for them, and arranges recreational and instructional visits to places of historic interest and to industrial concerns. In addition we have an arrangement with the Ministry of Education whereby local technical colleges under their control are prepared to advise any trainee who wishes to pursue a course of evening study. In quite a number of cases they provide these facilities without charge. In this connection I must not fail to mention many local bodies such as Rotary Clubs who have gone out of their way to entertain these young men. On occasions civic receptions are organized by the local Mayor to show them hospitality and entertainment. But our thanks are not only extended to the local efforts at Letchworth. I could not possibly let this occasion go by without mentioning the hospitality that has been shown to these boys by such organizations as the Royal Empire Society, the Overseas League, the British Council, the Victoria League and particularly our thanks go to Mrs. Amery and Colonel Shepherd of the Indian Comforts Fund, the generosity shown by this noble band of workers in supplying comforts to our boys who have had the misfortune to arrive in this country in winter time has just made that little difference which is so important.

BRITISH AND INDIAN RELATIONS

One of the great features of this scheme is its power to improve the relationship between our two countries. The lodgings found for the youths by the Local Welfare Officers are usually in good working-class homes, where the boys obtain a thorough acquaintance with British ways of life, and I am glad to say they form many and lasting friendships with the families with whom they lodge. Thus to my mind is one of the most valuable results of the scheme. There is no doubt that the boys take back to India a very different idea of the British than that formed before they knew us at first hand. Although the number of the young men brought here

under the scheme is infinitesimal in comparison with the vast population of India it is not too much to hope that in time this influence will spread

I would like to give you a few figures to show some of the results so far achieved Up to now twelve batches, comprising 713 boys, have been trained in this country and I understand the thirteenth batch is now in course of selection Eleven batches, representing 618 trainees, have returned to India, and Mr Bevin bade farewell to the twelfth last month. Although we have not yet received full placing reports of the later batches, we do know that the overall increase in wages received as a direct consequence of the training received under our scheme amounts to no less than 258 per cent The financial aspect is not the primary object of the scheme, but from the industrialist point of view I would say that it is a pretty good pointer as to the Indian employers' opinion of the value of the training given Furthermore the reports received on the boys' work with very few exceptions, are most encouraging The scheme is now becoming so popular in India that not only is there a waiting list of applicants for inclusion, but enquiries are often received by the Ministry of Labour in England direct from correspondents in India

INDIVIDUAL SUCCESSSES

We have received many interesting letters from ex trainees and I should like to mention one or two of the outstanding successes achieved as a result of the knowledge and experience gained through coming to England

A conspicuous instance is that of J Singh. Recently the Tata Iron and Steel Co announced four scholarships for higher studies in engineering, two in England and two in America Some eighty candidates sat for the competition there were graduates from various Indian Universities and only one ex Bevin trainee Mr Singh who had had no college education but only the experience gained in England He was earning Rs 60 (£4 10s) a month before coming to this country, but on return to Tata he obtained a foreman's job, earning something like Rs 350 a month. He was one of the four successful candidates for the scholarships and when asked where he would like to go for his education he chose to come back to England rather than go to America What is still more interesting he is now living in the same lodgings he occupied during the period of his training over here which is an indication of the high esteem in which these young men are held by English families with whom they stay

Another case is of a boy who, having worked his way up from a pay of 4 annas a day, came to this country and now holds a position as a foreman in a large engineering works at Rs 800 a month. He writes I think I have justified the opportunity that was given to me You will also be glad to hear that we have started a Bevin Engineers' Club in Calcutta Once a month we meet and exchange views We have the opportunity of meeting most of the Government officials and last month I was asked by the Indian Federation of Labour to represent them at the Industrial Health Committee which is looking into factory conditions

Another boy writes You will be glad to know that we are forming an association with the twenty five Bevin Boys in Cawnpore It is quite likely that this may become the centre with the growing industry and the strength of the Bevin Boys here I am given the proud privilege of being a convener for founding the Bevin Technicians Association

I think I have made it clear that these boys on their return act as ambassadors for a new understanding between the peoples of Great Britain and India and conversely they are instrumental in enlightening English people as to the conditions in India The people of India have long realized that to take an equal place among the great nations of the world India must industrialize and for this she looks to England, and these boys become a connecting link between the industrialists of India and this country

The present intention is that this scheme should go on for some time after the conclusion of hostilities with Japan, and the Government of India are considering supplementary schemes of training which will help the development of Indian industry in the post war period. India will thereby be helped to attain in the course of a few years a well-balanced industrial economy which will not only benefit her but all nations who have trade relations with her

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster SW 1 on Tuesday April 24, 1945 when Mr E WATSON SMYTH M.I.C.S. F.I.A.A., of the Ministry of Labour and National Service, read a paper entitled *The Bevin Training Scheme Its Relation to the Industrial Development of India*. In the absence of Sir David Meek Acting High Commissioner for India on account of illness, Sir ARUL CHATTERJEE presided.

The CHAIRMAN said that the subject for consideration was not controversial as were some of the subjects considered by the Association but it was important. Mr Watson Smyth had a long family connection with India: he was born there but had been a distinguished engineer in this country. Mr Bevin the Minister of Labour had put him in charge of the training schemes carried on by the Ministry, and it was no exaggeration to say that nearly half a million people had been trained during the present war. Mr Watson Smyth had looked after the whole of that training and had done it extremely well. In the course of that work he had had to look after the training of young Indians who had come to this country in connection with the scheme inaugurated by Mr Bevin. Not many people present at the meeting were acquainted with the full and correct details of the scheme and were waiting to hear what Mr Watson had to say.

After the reading of the paper the CHAIRMAN said that Mr Watson Smyth had given many new facts which were certainly unfamiliar to himself. This subject was extremely important from the point of view of the industrial development of India because it was impossible to imagine that industries could be developed in any country without the training of labour in a right fashion: not only of the lowest grades but of the technicians who would rise higher and higher and ultimately become the managers of factories and of big industrial institutions.

This could be done in India if there were a large number of well-established industries and well-established training centres there but it was no use denying that India did not possess those advantages and all Indians owed a deep debt of gratitude to Mr Bevin and the British Government for instituting this scheme. He had not the least doubt that it had been of the greatest advantage to India especially after listening to what Mr Watson Smyth had said.

There was one factor which Mr Watson Smyth had mentioned which he was very glad to hear and that was that the entire expense of the scheme was borne by the British Government. There were one or two other points to which he would draw attention. Mr Watson Smyth had expressed the view that the modernization and industrialization of India had reached a stage comparable to that of this country, with few of its trials and tribulations. He was afraid he did not agree because he did not think that Mr Watson Smyth could have seen the *chawls* in Bombay or the dwellings of the jute workers in Calcutta. If he had he would have known that these trials and tribulations did persist in India, and it should be everybody's endeavour to see that they did not become worse.

He was in entire agreement with Mr Watson Smyth as to the potentialities of the Bevin scheme in the development of the trade union movement in India. Twenty five years ago he had a great deal to do with the expanding trade union movement, and it was almost heart-breaking to find that the only people who took a genuine interest in the movement were either politicians with their own axes to grind—with some notable exceptions—or workers who had not been educated and did not understand their real interests. Things had changed since then but the acquaintance which these young men would have had with the movement in this country would be of very great help to the movement in India, and the right development of the trade union movement was an essential prerequisite of the industrialization of India.

Mr Watson Smyth's remarks about the experience of factories in this country

with Indian trainees before the Bevin scheme was inaugurated were rather surprising. During his time as High Commissioner large numbers of young men came here for industrial training and through the efforts of the India Store Department were placed in factories all over England, Scotland and Northern Ireland, and practically all the reports received were satisfactory. The legend that Indian students were not prepared to take their full part was not true twenty years ago, although it might have been at an earlier period.

He hoped that even when the war was over the scheme would be continued because of the advantages not only from the point of view of industrialization but of the social progress of India. These boys would be instrumental in solving difficulties which were now to be observed in India: they had been recruited from all classes of society, they mixed quite well here and he hoped they would be the leaven which would leaven the whole country in good time.

In conclusion he thanked Mr. Watson Smyth for his extremely fine and interesting lecture.

Brigadier H. M. Burrows (Indian Comforts Fund) said that he had seen something of the Bevin boys during the past year in helping Mrs. Amery and Colonel Shepherd with regard to their comforts, and he would endorse the remarks of Mr. Watson Smyth and the Chairman that the plan was a great influence making for unity in India. The future of India rested in unity and goodwill. He had enjoyed thirty-four years in the Indian Army, he had always served in mixed regiments in which the one big idea was to serve God, the King and the Government. The Indian regiments in this war had won at Sidi Barani, Keran across Africa in Italy and Syria, and fought all through Malaya and Burma and they were completely united. The British troops simply would not leave their Indian divisions because they had complete confidence in them.

Letchworth was another place where all sorts of evidence of unity could be found. One boy to whom he spoke said that he came from Lahore that he was called a Muhammadan but he was an Indian. That was the spirit of these boys, and they were an example to this country of what India was like. The Indian Army had been going for a long time so had the Royal Indian Navy and there was magnificent unity among the men. There were now ten squadrons in the Royal Indian Air Force, which was largely commanded by Indians.

Going to factories to speak to the workpeople he always found someone ready to say that India cannot defend herself unless she has complete freedom—he liked to hear the British workman say that India was united. Among troop audiences there were men who wanted to know about the famine in Bengal and how responsible the British Government was for that. Facts always satisfied their inquiries.

The point he wished to emphasize was that there was this unity: it was seen amongst the ranks of our own forces with the Indian forces and these boys as Mr. Watson Smyth said, were going back to India to spread that spirit of unity and goodwill which would make India extremely strong and strong in defence, he hoped.

Sir FRANK NOYES said that this was not the first time he had found it difficult to follow the Chairman. He had done so as Member for Industries and Labour and had found that Sir Atul Chatterjee had set him a very high standard to which to live up. During a considerable part of his time in India he had been mixed up with Indian industry and it was, therefore, with special interest that he had listened to the lecture. Mr. Watson Smyth had been very modest about his own part in the Bevin training scheme, but it was easy to see how much India, this country, and, above all, the Bevin boys owed to him.

Mr. Watson Smyth had mentioned at the outset of his paper that the primary object of the scheme had been to bring about the expansion of the Indian munitions industry. It was much to be hoped that it would not end there, and that, when munitions ceased to occupy the important part they now did in the industry of India and of this country, the scheme would cover other branches of the industrial field. Planning was the order of the day in India, but none of the plans could hope to attain their objective unless the personnel to carry them out was available.

The Bevin scheme had so far trained 700 boys, India would need 7,000 or even 70,000 if she was to carry out that far-reaching industrialization which so many interested in India's economic welfare wanted to see achieved. He hoped, therefore, that this scheme, or something like it, would become a permanent part of India's industrial life, for it would be a long time before India could dispense with the technical assistance and technical knowledge available in this country.

Everyone knew what British industry owed to the men who had started at the bottom and worked their way to the top, and also to those who could have started at the top, but had been content to take off their coats and to learn the details of their business by themselves working in factory or office. It was the lack of such people in India that had been responsible to some extent for the slowness of Indian industrial development. As the Chairman had said that state of affairs was much less marked now than it used to be, but there was still not enough willingness to get down to the minutiae of the business. When he presided over the Cotton Textile Tariff Board he found that not more than two or three of the mill-owners had ever themselves worked in a factory. Mr. Watson Smyth's paper opened up therefore some far-reaching vistas, and it was to be hoped that many of the boys who had been trained under the scheme would become captains of industry in the future.

He would like to endorse the Chairman's remarks regarding the trade union movement in India. Its weakness was that it had been exploited by people outside it. Its leaders had seldom come from the workers themselves but from those who for political or ideological reasons, or for reasons of a more sordid character had thought it advantageous to carve out a career for themselves as trade union leaders. There were notable exceptions, of course. Mr. N. M. Joshi for example, of whose sincerity there could be no question. He was glad to know that the Bevin boys had learnt something about trade unions during their stay in this country and had discovered what a valuable asset they were to industry. A trade union leader from India had alleged in a conversation with the speaker recently that the Government of India were hostile to trade unions, but this was not the case. All they wanted to ensure was a healthy trade union movement, for they were convinced that such a movement was essential to the prosperity of Indian industry.

Another great feature of the scheme was its value in improving the relationships between the two countries. There was no better way of telling our people about India than by their listening to Indians themselves. He hoped the Bevin boys had not been too hard on people like himself who had done their best when in India for the people of India and that they had not been unduly critical of the efforts of the Government of India to improve the lot of the industrial and agricultural classes. Talking to a young Englishman recently who was going to India in a technical post, he had reminded him that he would be an ambassador of this country and that he must behave as such. It had been made perfectly clear in the paper that the Bevin boys had taken that attitude in Great Britain and that they had well deserved the warm welcome which they had received from all classes. He wished them every success when they went back to India, and hoped that they were fore runners of much larger numbers.

Mr. A. STEEL (British Council) said that he also had the privilege of being born in India although his family could not claim quite such notable service as that of Mr. Watson Smyth. He was glad to represent the British Council at the meeting and to meet again so many of the Bevin boys and his old friend Mr. Mahmud.

The British Council for Cultural Relations with other Peoples was an organization incorporated by Royal Charter working under the Foreign Office, but at intervals undertaking work for other Government departments—in this case the Ministry of Labour and the India Office. Its function was the apparently simple but actually rather complicated one of interpreting British life to those who did not know the British or Britain. This was done overseas and, during the war in this country and if the British Council had not done all it could have wished for the Bevin boys it was only because the representatives of India over here were treated on precisely the same footing as representatives of the American Army, Canadians, Australians, New Zealanders, and all other representatives of the British Empire and the United

Nations. India had, therefore, had to take her share with the other nations, but that had not mattered very much because of the admirable work done by Mr Mahmud, Mr Watson Smyth, and the local welfare officers of the Ministry of Labour. The British Council had tried to supplement the work of the Ministry of Labour and to put the Bevin boys in touch with the British public, which had been only too willing to respond.

Quite a number of ameluties had been supplied to Letchworth itself, over twenty visits to Cambridge and Oxford had been arranged, and help had been given with many London visits. The boys usually went first to Christ's College, Cambridge, which was the first college to admit many Indians to full membership some sixty years ago and it had generally been possible to find someone of distinction to meet them. Lantern lectures and film shows had also been supplied. The Council's activities in this country were by no means confined to London and the Birmingham office had been able to arrange for a joint reception by the British Council and the Birmingham Trades Council to the Indian technicians working in that neighbourhood. A short talk on the history of the trade union movement was usually given in which practical questions were asked by the Indians and answered by trade union officials. Visits to the Birmingham Repertory Theatre and to the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre at Stratford-on-Avon had also been arranged and as much as possible was done for those boys stationed at Rugby, Coventry and Wolverhampton.

When the boys left England the British Council usually held a farewell party for them at their big Allied Centre in Liverpool through which passed about 6,000 men and women of the different Allied nationalities every week.

Mr Steel added that he was very happy to have been associated even in a small way with the Bevin boys, and he would emphasize once more what very good ambassadors of their own country these boys were. Any British people he had met who had been in contact with them had all said without exception: "What extraordinarily charming people!"

MISS ELLEN McCULLOUGH (Secretary Education Department Transport and General Workers Union) said that when her Union was asked by the Ministry of Labour to arrange some lectures on trade union development for the Indian trainees it was very glad to do so because the English workman had a very strong feeling about the problem of Indian workmen and because it was realized what a great opportunity the war-time bringing of technicians to the country gave them.

With regard to the lectures the first problem was to try to help the trainees in their immediate environment when they left Letchworth and went into industry and secondly there was the fact that the rapid industrialization of India brought many problems with it one being the development of reasonable industrial relations. In the lectures therefore an attempt was made to analyse the structure and functions of trade unions—the structure was important because it was possible to construct some thing which looked like a trade union which would not have the usefulness or do the job of a trade union because it was not democratic. An account was given of the various functions of trade unions in the country and also of the wider functions of a trade union so as to help India not to fall into some of the mistakes made in the past. The actual question of trade union organization was one which could be dealt with only in outline because of the differences in circumstances in India and in this country. After the first batch of trainees had arrived it became obvious that many of them had had little or no experience of trade unionism, some had had very painful experience of trade union work, so that her Union was glad to be able to give some technical information about organization and administration.

On the difficult job of trade union negotiation useful help was given by trade union negotiators in this country who had had wide experience. Lastly the functions of trade unions in connection with social service welfare and protection, the functions of the trade union as the legal adviser of its members, dealing with the member who was in difficulty because of accident or injury, and so on, were dealt with. Then there was the important practical job of training members to become responsible citizens in the community, to be people willing to give up some of their time to do voluntary work and to learn how to do it.

With regard to the trainees themselves, Miss McCullough had been in contact with the successive batches and had been strongly impressed by the real social sense amongst them. In the questions and discussions it was clear that they were thinking of themselves not as better trained people for their own interests but as trained to do a real job of work in assisting the workers with whom they came into contact. That would have made the delivering of lectures something well worth doing even if there were no other aspects to be considered.

Captain S. T. Binstead (Trade Commissioner for Mysore) said that, as a member of the original Committee formed in this country, he would like to offer congratulations to all those who had contributed to the success of the scheme.

He recalled to mind the first meeting at the India Office held in September, 1940. The general opinion at that meeting was that the project was full of difficulties, but he remembered the enthusiasm of the Chairman, Sir Stuart Nelson Brown, and his colleague, now Sir William Croft, which carried them on to lay the sound foundation on which the scheme has been built. Much credit is due to their vision and leadership in those early days.

He entirely agreed with the paper and the lecturer's detailed summing up. The Indians were most fortunate in having the services of Mr. Mahmud who had proved a tower of strength to the scheme, was respected by everybody, and who by his honesty and tact had won the friendship of every trainee who has come to this country. Then again Mr. Paul Runganadhan had done a fine job in accompanying each party of trainees from and to India. Some of the journeys had been perilous and had taken months to reach England. Most of the trainees were coming to this country for the first time, and it was Mr. Paul Runganadhan who instructed them en route on how to adjust their lives to keep fit, what to eat, how to play, and what to expect.

One criticism (constructive, he hoped) he had to offer was that the scheme was not sufficiently well known either in this country or in America. He had never been able to understand why secrecy should have been applied to such a progressive effort. A pamphlet issued with photographs and definition, depicting trainees at sea in their workshops in their British homes etc. for general circulation would, he thought, be a good thing. It should be freely circulated in America. Recently he had been talking to a prominent British industrialist about the Bevin boys and it was some minutes before he realized they were at cross-purposes. The industrialist was talking about the coal miners while he was talking about the engineers. Later it transpired that several of the Indian trainees had actually been through his own organization yet he hardly knew anything about them.

He looked forward to the day when hordes of young Indians would come here to receive training and hoped they would be received in the same spirit in peace as in war. He believed that the British trade unionists would not look with suspicion on this effort or impede in any way this scheme of bringing India and Britain together in the post-war industrial march. There might be some petty feeling about replacement of these Indians by British labour, but if the position were really understood by the British trade unionists they would, he felt sure, agree that a duplicate set of engineers was necessary in India to man and maintain the machinery manufactured by them in this country for erection in India. He pleaded for trade union co-operation, understanding and tolerance for this trainee scheme in the immediate post-war years.

Mr. K. S. Mahmud said that that day was one of the happiest of his life because the fact that the lecture by Mr. Watson Smyth had been arranged by so good a judge as Sir Frank Brown showed that the merits and usefulness of the Bevin Training Scheme had been established.

Mr. Watson Smyth had referred to his part in it, but the real fact was that when he first went to Letchworth to take charge of the hostel he also suffered from the illusion that it was a war-stunt for propaganda purposes. When, however, he came in contact with Mr. Watson Smyth and his lieutenants in the Training Department and noted their keenness and sincerity, he realized how vast and far-reaching was

Mr Bevin's idea and what strength and value it would have for India, and he determined not to leave any stone unturned to achieve the aims and objects of the scheme.

To see what the scheme did for the Bevin boys one had only to look at them on arrival and when they left. During their stay in England they developed not only their technical knowledge, but gained self-confidence, the real key to success.

As to the effect on Anglo-Indian relations he would give just one example. Two years ago two English technicians, one from Leicester the other from Letchworth, went to India on Government jobs. Although there were ten Bevin boys in Leicester at the time the Leicester gentleman did not trouble to get into touch with them but the one from Letchworth came to the hostel and made contact with the boys. A few months after their departure the father of this gentleman called to see him and showed him a letter saying how comfortable and happy he was. Some Indian people to whom the boys had written had got into touch with him and made every effort to assist him in getting staff house and even told him which shops to deal with, and he wanted his wife to be sent out as soon as possible. The gentleman from Leicester had written a letter full of complaints and had applied to come back. This demonstrated the link which the Bevin trainees created during their stay in this country.

Mr Mahmud wished to thank all the organizations which had helped in very many ways. Before concluding however he would refer to the Chairman's mention of University students who went into the industry. In the course of his duties he often had to accompany the Technical Adviser to factories inquiring about the work these boys were doing, and he was often asked by the ordinary workers why these boys worked in overalls and other people whom we used to have never did any work. Similarly a student was sent from India House, a B Sc but he could not be persuaded to do the practical work. If India was to build up its industries she would need more industrialists who could do the practical work.

Mr P THIRUNAVUKK ARASU (Madras), one of the trainees, was grateful for the opportunity of expressing his feelings. All the boys were very conscious of their responsibility on joining the scheme and were very jealous of its honour and good name. All felt confident that they had justified their short stay in this country, and had made full use of every opportunity given to increase their technical knowledge.

When they arrived they were full of doubts and fears as to the treatment they would get, as to the risk they had run in leaving their jobs and whether the English workers would consider them equal partners, but all these fears were set aside within a few weeks. At Letchworth as well as in industry they were welcomed with open arms.

He thanked the Ministry of Labour, and particularly Mr Watson Smyth, for running the scheme, and for taking such a keen and personal interest in all the boys the employers and their co-workers in the factories for their help and assistance on behalf of himself and his colleagues. They had had the pleasure of living with English families, and were gratified at receiving such fraternal treatment. Although they were glad to be returning home yet they were leaving with heavy hearts. He would also express gratitude to organizations such as the British Council, the Overseas Club, the Indian Comforts Fund, and the Royal Empire Society, who had extended hospitality and had arranged sight-seeing tours. He would also thank Miss McCullough, who had arranged the lectures on trade unionism.

Last but not least, there was Mr Mahmud. When they left India they were downhearted, and felt the separation from their parents, but as soon as they knew Mr Mahmud the loneliness vanished. They would never forget him and, in short, they were all mighty proud of him. He would assure all who had had anything to do with the scheme that they would not be found wanting in carrying out the trust placed in them by their patron—Mr Bevin.

Mrs R Wast said that she was very glad to have been able to look after these young men in her home. They fitted in with the family and their friends liked them as well.

Mr WATSON SMYTH, in reply to the discussion, said that in referring to trials and tribulations the point he was trying to bring out was not the question of conditions of life in India, but that he thought India had reached a stage of industrial development without the trials and tribulations Britain went through at the time of industrial development because she had been able to rely upon British experience. Mr Mahmud had dealt with the point relating to Indian University students.

With regard to the trade union movement he wished to stress the point that it was not expected that the Bevin boys would be able to start trade unions on their own but it was hoped that gradually a trade union movement would start in India. When it did there would be a nucleus of men who had been through it and knew it, and who realized what wage negotiations meant and how they were carried out. With such a nucleus it would be easier for India than if they were starting from scratch.

Captain Binstead's remarks had surprised him a little because, while there might be one or two managing directors of firms to which the boys had been put who did not know much about it, if he had gone to the works managers he would have found that they knew a good deal about it. The general publicity given to the Bevin scheme had been quite adequate; he did not believe that it would do such a lot of good to publicize it.

As far as his own part in the scheme was concerned he would say that it could never have been brought into being without the willing co-operation of a first-class team of workers at his Ministry.

Sir LANCELOT GRAHAM said that they had listened with rapt attention to the story of a very remarkable experiment, and on behalf of the audience he thanked Mr Watson Smyth and the Chairman and all those who had taken part in the discussion.

AN ORIENTAL CULTURAL CENTRE IN LONDON

THE paper Mr FRED H. ANDREWS OBE read on this subject at a joint meeting of the Association and the Royal Society of Arts (India and Burma Section) on Thursday March 15 1945 was given in the July issue of the Review.

Major-General Sir NELLIE ROBINSON KC, FRS, FRCGS, President, and in introducing the lecturer said that the life work of Mr Andrews had been in archaeology in India, and he had been the right-hand man of that great explorer and archaeologist, Sir Aurel Stein whom they all admired so enormously. Mr Andrews not only started his archaeological and artistic activities as successor to Lockwood Kipling but remained connected with important archaeological work in India for many years and with many people.

After the lecture the CHAIRMAN read a letter from Sir George Hill regretting his inability to attend and adding: "I much hope that something of the kind proposed may in time come into existence. When I was Director of the British Museum I worked out plans for a Central Oriental Museum in which the various Oriental collections in London should be brought together. It could have been done at the time—buildings and maintenance included—for a couple of millions. A suitable site—adjoining the British Museum, so that its Oriental collections would not have to be removed out of the control of the Trustees, which would have been objectionable on legal and other grounds—could then have been found. This was a plan for something much more modest than what Mr Andrews envisages, which is a sort of Oriental Institute with museum attached. There are, I think, some Museum officials who would dislike such a connection. I do not say they would be right, but they would have to be reckoned with. Whatever is done in furtherance of the scheme of Mr Andrews or any similar project, I hope the promoters will at an early stage enter into communication with the Trustees of the British Museum, without whose co-

operation, indeed, I do not see how any progress could be made, so far as the assembling in one centre of the various London collections of Oriental antiquities is concerned

The CHAIRMAN said I might remind you that when giving evidence before the Zetland Committee Sir George made the very pregnant suggestion that what is wanted is not an Oriental museum but a centre of Oriental civilization. At this stage you begin to wonder what exactly you mean by "Oriental" it is rather a wide term. Personally I should like it to mean the geographical limits of Asia. I deprecate a purely Indian aspect because, after all, the greatest mountain range in the world, backed by great rivers has proved quite insufficient to keep Indian culture and art confined within the limits of India. They have spread through Asia China Persia, South Russia and into Europe. Who are we to impose geographical limits where Nature herself has failed?

Mr K. DE B COBRINGTON said that the old India House Museum was a natural expression of interest in things Indian by those who served India. It ceased to exist because it failed to find financial support. None of the proposals for improving the scope and standing of Indian studies in this country had succeeded for exactly the same reason. Expressions of interest had abounded. Plans had been produced, starting with Forbes Watson's great scheme in the 70's. But no one was willing to put his hand in his pocket. Now the proposal was widened to include Oriental studies as a whole. It was possible that interest in China or Iran or the Islamic countries might do what interest in India failed to do. He preferred the wider field for more than one reason.

But Mr Andrews went beyond former discussions on Oriental museums and teaching in another way. He advocated a cultural centre. The word culture had had a strange history in Europe. A museum was certainly cultural in one sense. Modern history was based on the willingness to study objects as well as words and, in the same sense, was also cultural. But Mr Andrews' cultural centre suggested social activities and not merely studies. He did not think that they would necessarily create an effective cultural centre by piling museums, learned societies, teachers and whatever guests they had in mind all in one heap. Learned societies were individual things, each with its own traditions.

There were at least three difficulties in the way. It would not be easy to find a site in London suitable for such a large institution, after so many years' scepticism with regard to the provision of cash was only natural, but the greatest difficulty of all might prove to be the provision of staff. Orientalology not having been encouraged in this country as it had been in France and Germany, and was being encouraged in America, there had been too few appointments available to make it a common pursuit. If there were posts available and a modicum of sustenance was assured, the depleted band of British Orientalists would speedily increase. The School of Oriental and African Studies was in existence ready to play its part. It was already in many ways a cultural centre.

Mr K. HAZAREESINGH said that, having been acquainted with the work of the Zetland Committee, he very much welcomed the proposal for establishing an Institute for Oriental Culture in London. He agreed that such an institution should not restrict its scope to India but should include the East as a whole. India herself had always been interested in the whole field of Oriental culture, and in this connection one might mention the *Viveka Bharati*, Tagore's Institute in Bengal. One of its branches, the China Bhawan, was flourishing today. It might appear at first sight that they were embarking upon too ambitious a scheme, but if it was approached in the right spirit there is no reason why it should not be successful.

Many of his friends in this country both British and Indian, were anxious to see an Indian Institute set up in London that would do for India what the British Council was doing for British culture in the outside world. In furtherance of that object he had preliminary discussions with many prominent persons in this country, and the support which he received from all quarters led him to entertain very high

hopes It was at this time that Sir Frank Brown was kind enough to establish contact between him and the committee under the chairmanship of Lord Zetland Later on in the course of his evidence before the committee, he stressed how general was the desire to see something done which would promote in an effective way Indian culture in this country

He had great faith in cultural institutions The surest way of understanding a people was to possess a knowledge of their culture Then understanding became easier and the possibilities of friction were considerably reduced All would agree that in the present-day world it was more than ever necessary to build relationships on the basis of understanding fellowship as Professor Radhakrishnan had put it The type of institute which it was proposed to set up would he believed, go a long way towards securing the realization of this high object

He could speak from personal experience that cultural institutions could be of the greatest value in uniting in a bond of amity people belonging to different races and he was happy to be able to say that through the joint endeavours of their intellectuals they in Mauritius were free from those manifestations of racialism which in some parts of the world aroused embittered feelings between various communities

If the Oriental Centre was to be a success it must be in keeping with the greatness of the conception It must be able to speak with authority It should be so organized as to appeal not only to men of learning but to the common people who were so much interested in everything concerning the East—India in particular

He had reason to believe that the Universities would gladly give their co-operation As a matter of fact it was in Cambridge and Oxford that he first discussed this project and he was delighted to find how enthusiastically the suggestion was received The idea met with a similar reception in Edinburgh The Oriental Faculties of some of the Universities here were already interested in the subject and when the time came they might reasonably expect their support to a cause which had engaged the attention of so many distinguished Orientalists during the past twenty five years

Speaking as an overseas Indian he must say that he sometimes missed the invigorating atmosphere of Indian culture in this country Lord Curzon was right when he spoke of that sense of disappointment which an Indian experienced in visiting England He would like not to be so cut off from his own cultural background he would wish to visit some place which he would call his own institute, rich in those materials which had made the name of India famous in the past What they had heard now aroused the hope that the day was near when Indians visiting the United Kingdom would have no cause to feel disappointed or frustrated

Mr J C POWELL-PRICE said that in 1938 when home on leave he tried to help the late professor of Sanskrit at Oxford to obtain examples of Indian sculpture for the Indian Institute He had already got a museum and he had tried to make it as representative as he could of Indian culture generally It was interesting to note, however, that all that he had managed to collect there were a few reliefs and other objects, whereas in the Ashmolean and the University museums there were a large number of articles which certainly ought to have been in the Indian Institute which was founded for the study of Indian culture So that in Oxford, where the opportunities were great, it was not possible to assemble a centre, and he was wondering whether it would be possible to get the various museums in this country to release their collections There was the difficulty of trustees—they were very difficult people to deal with

Another difficulty was referred to by Sir W Rothenstein in a paper read in 1938 He spoke of the great artistic culture of India which was unduly neglected That was very true it had been neglected, and by no people more than the Indians themselves The Emperor Aurangzebe gave the final blow to the advance of Indian art when he abolished music as a State institution There was a story told of the Royal musicians taking out a mock effigy of music to bury, and the Emperor met them and said, Bury it deep They did, and it had hardly emerged yet

That was the history of most of the ancient heritage of Indian art There could be no two opinions about the necessity for having a central place in London for the study of Indian art, but the difficulty would be to get the objects to study He tried

to help the Oxford Indian Institute when he returned to India, and he did get certain rather good examples of sculpture sent over, but then the war came. But there was a great reluctance in people even to part with duplicates. Even the Curzon Museum at Muntra, which Lord Hailey was able to have built to house certain remarkable examples of art, would not part with some quite ordinary but representative, examples of art which were lying out exposed to every wind and rain. There was a feeling that examples of Indian art should not go outside India. That was unfortunate and it was not the way to get Indian culture appreciated in England. It was necessary that it should be studied.

Dr RANJEE G SHAHANI. There is little or nothing in the paper with which I can quarrel, in fact, I find myself again and again in agreement with its main conclusions. Mr Andrews has made out a good case. It is a disgrace, he suggests, that at the hub of the Empire there is no place where Indian culture may be studied in all its manifestations. A centre of Oriental or even Asiatic culture is certainly needed in this country, but I do hope that it will not be called a museum. I remember Laurence Binyon once saying that museums are generally considered by the public as dead places where dead people study dead things in a dead way. I am afraid the accusation is largely true. Anyhow we must avoid studying this or that culture in a fragmentary way. That leads nowhere. We must relate each aspect of it to the creative whole. For after all, what is the idea of having a centre of culture? It is to understand Orientals or Asiatics better.

A great deal of importance is attached to the story of the language of a people but I think you know better than I that the only thing which separates Britain from America is the same language. The point is to understand what people are driving at. I have met Englishmen who spoke Hindustani, but not infrequently their words conveyed one thing to them and another to us Indians. We have to take account of all these difficulties. The whole object of a centre of culture is, I repeat, to make the peoples of the East better known to the British. How is that end to be achieved? Knowledge of languages is all right. It is an aid—no more and this aid is being supplied by the School of Oriental Studies and similar places of learning. The knowledge of arts and crafts is being spread by the Imperial Institute under the inspiring direction of Sir Harry Lindsay and by the Royal India Society and by the Museum presided over by Mr Codrington. What I suggest, however, is something different. You may have as much of cultural subjects as the public can stand but you must have at the same time people who know the deeper impulses of the Oriental mind as it is today. A knowledge of the living East is what is wanted. There is a tendency in this country to study the ancient works of Oriental peoples while paying little or no attention to their present activities. This will not do. The past of a people is of importance only in so far as it throws light on its adventure today. In brief, above and beyond Orientalists and art experts, we need racial psychologists. This is our supreme need everywhere.

Dr VESLEY FITZGERALD said that in discussions of this kind they were rather apt to under-estimate the existing resources of London. These resources for the study of Oriental cultures were enormous, far greater than the resources available anywhere else outside Asia, but they were frightfully scattered, and so people did not realize how immense they were. The question was one of making them more readily accessible without wasting time in transport between one point and another.

The first thing they must be clear about was what it was they really needed, and should not make the mistake of suggesting that anything less would do. The only possible location for such a centre was somewhere within reasonable touch with the British Museum and the School of Oriental and African Studies. He was glad to hear Mr Andrews speak of the possibility of reviving the beautiful Bloomsbury squares because he was thinking of Russell Square as a possible site. They should not be content with anything less than a site of that kind.

On behalf of the School of Oriental and African Studies he wished to say that the present position—perhaps naturally—was not fully appreciated by the world at large. Their light was hidden. The Ministry of Information occupied a considerable

part of the building and restricted their activities. But they had a library which was already in the same class as that of the India Office. They would have some fine entertaining rooms, and they had a students union which was a unique meeting ground for people of all races, religions and nationalities. Altogether he thought that the Ministry of Information should not be allowed to obscure the vital position and possibilities of the school. A great deal of what Mr Andrews suggested would be done there, but it would be a help to that school to have a reservoir of material close at hand in such a centre as he proposed.

Several speakers had emphasized the fact that they had to deal with trustees. They also had to deal with Acts of Parliament in the case of the British Museum, and if they asked for too much they would find that a new Act would be required. Such an Act was outside practical politics. Therefore they could not hope to override vested interests or reassemble dispersed collections, but it might be possible to bring them closer together. The British Museum and the School of Oriental and African Studies were already in Bloomsbury, and the Indian and other Oriental sections of the Victoria and Albert Museum should be brought to Bloomsbury. Then there were the libraries of the Secretary of State for India and the Royal Asiatic Society. At one time there were differences of opinion in each case on the question of a move. But many were alive to the advantages of it, and of getting an Oriental centre in Russell Square where all these things could gradually be brought together.

Finally, they must not expect too much from the centre. There would still be Oriental activities in the country which would prefer to lead an independent life and which indeed could not be comfortably housed in such a building. There was the project for a mosque in London linked with a centre of Islamic culture run by Muslims for Muslims. There was also the Turkish halkier. That was of great value in bringing English and Turkish people together but that also would be out of place in an Oriental centre of the kind proposed. He hoped however that gradually many such societies would find that it would be desirable for them to have their home very close to such a centre and in that way they should go on with the collection of an Oriental centre not only in the one building but in neighbouring buildings until finally we had a complete Oriental centre preferably in Russell Square.

Professor G. E. G. CATLIN said the project was one of enormous importance. There had been a great deal of Philistinism in the past with regard to this subject and also great apathy in the field of African study. It was up to us to do something about it. While supporting the project he put in one reservation and that was that culture was something very near to the spirit of a nation. It was once said that the culture of a people was the spirit and soul of that people. He suggested that various Indian bodies in London should be brought closely into association in the development of a scheme of this kind.

Mr MOHAMMED ALLY KHAN said the discussion had centred round Oriental civilization rather than culture, and he felt a little disappointed. Some time ago in an American paper a Chinese writer was quoted as saying that the Europeans mixed up culture with civilization. Culture was an attitude to life while civilization was its art. All the art of India was centred round that attitude. Twenty years ago he saw an exhibition in London of Indian objects of art which were sold for £2 each. Later he saw machine-printed imitations of the same sold in the London shops at 3s 6d each, produced, of course, in Hamburg and Birmingham. The English people knew very little about the Orient, and it would be far better if they were educated therein and the Indian attitude towards life was explained to them.

Sir JOSIAH CROSBY said he had been listening to a useful discussion on the question of the establishment of an Indian cultural centre. But he had heard very little which bore upon the question of a centre for Oriental culture in general and, of course, the cultures of Asia were many. For example, to the west of India there were Arabia and Persia; to the east there was China and to the south-east there were the Dutch East Indies. If we were to have an Oriental cultural centre in London the

over-all emphasis should not be placed upon "British Empire or Indian, but upon the words Oriental and culture." Otherwise we might find no one participating but those who were British and Indian, and we might antagonize admirers of other great cultures such as the Chinese. Therefore, if they were to have an Oriental centre of culture the method of approach by those interested in the scheme would have to be a much wider one than had been indicated in the discussion.

Mr H V LANCHESTER, LITT.D, said it was true that all Eastern cultures had influenced each other, but when they came to Asia as a whole it was such a large part of the world that he felt they would be biting off more than they could chew.

With regard to the question of a museum he wished to point out that the character of a museum was a very tricky thing. If four or five qualified men arranged a museum they would each do it differently. One would say that the museum should be arranged by progressive ages, another that it must be grouped according to crafts. There was the man who would require that the classification should be by locality, and that Persian and Hindu arts must not be mixed up. Then there was the sociologist who wanted to provide a vision of how people lived at various times. All these were different ways of arranging a museum, and it required serious consideration to meet all such views. Several museums had tried to do that: there is one at Nuremberg.

He did not think that we need worry so much about getting a collection established. There was a good nucleus to start with, and a museum aggregated itself together by degrees. The more it progressed the more chance it had of reaching finality, and even a small collection intelligently interpreted had great value.

Mr BASIL GRAY (British Museum) I am speaking as someone who spends a great deal of time in dealing with matters relating to Indian art, and find myself unexpectedly in the position of being called upon to defend trustees. Several speakers have referred to them and some have misunderstood their position, regarding them merely as conservers of tradition. From what has been said you might have thought that trustees were responsible for what happened to the valuable collections in 1879 at the time of the break up of the old East India Company's Museum. That is not so. The Secretary of State for India of the day, Lord Cranborne (afterwards Lord Salisbury) expressed a wish that that valuable collection should be kept together and given to the British Museum or South Kensington Museum, and both those Museums were ready to accept the responsibility of the collections. But the Treasury came in and said that they were not prepared to finance the necessary expenditure, and the Secretary of State was obliged to sanction the division of the collection. That was not carried out in an arbitrary way, but as far as possible the collection was divided into units, and the British Museum did in fact receive the archaeological collections. I think that is relevant now because the reason for that decision was the character of the British Museum.

There is an extract from one of our handbooks which expresses quite clearly the principles upon which the collection is viewed, and which reads: "While an art collection is limited to artistic objects, an archaeological collection is not confined to those which are inartistic. They may or may not have artistic value, but their main object is to indicate stages of culture." Those are the lines upon which the Trustees have developed their collections from the foundation of the Museum, and it is a great mistake for promoters of Oriental studies to neglect the intentions which the Trustees may have. They may have plans of their own for the future. In 1933 a step was taken by them in setting up an Oriental antiquities department, and I do not believe that that is the last step they intend to take. That does not necessarily mean that they would be unfavourably disposed towards the scheme at present being discussed. I think the Trustees would welcome an Oriental institute in Bloomsbury.

Some speakers have referred to the need for connecting up and integrating all the relevant institutions covering the whole of Asia. Museums are faced with the problem of integrating studies which cover the whole of the world. Asia is a large part of the world, and to take out so large a part of the collection would defeat the purpose for which the Museum was created.

One speaker referred to dead institutions containing dead things. But the life's work of the originator of that saying was to see that that idea was disproved in the public mind, and I know that he held that art was the language which was easier for the general public to learn than any other, and better calculated to break down barriers between countries. That does not mean that other means should not be found though I am sure that that line is one of the most fruitful which can be pursued.

The CHAIRMAN asked them all to go out into the world and press in season and out of season this idea of an Oriental cultural centre in London, but they must all wait until the Zetland Report comes out. That was the next important item on the programme, and until they knew what it contained they could not do a great deal but they should try to do something.

SIR ATUL CHATTERJEE My duty is not only to thank the lecturer but also the chairman for having come here, although a very busy man to encourage us by presiding over this meeting and giving us valuable suggestions and advice. As regards the lecturer we expected as good a lecture as we got. In this Society, as well as in the East India Association, we are accustomed to hearing Mr Andrews give us illuminating lectures with lantern slides. I wish we had had some today. But we have had a really interesting and stimulating afternoon, there has been a lively discussion and many points of view have been expressed. As a member of the Zetland Committee which has now finished its labours I am not in a position either to criticize or endorse anything which has been said today. When the Report is published you will probably find that many of the points of view put forward today have been in the minds of the members of that Committee.

I do hope that everyone present will do what the Chairman has suggested and try to develop a real desire on the part of the British public to carry through this project. We have as Mr Andrews has said discussed this matter for many years past, but nothing very tangible has happened. The time is now overdue for a centre of this kind, and I do hope that this meeting will be the forerunner of other meetings to help on with this idea.

PLANNING FOR INDIA

BY THE HON SIR ARDKRESHIR R DALAL

(Member of the Government of India for Planning and Development)

Almost every great war leads to the upheaval of the existing social and political order, and lays the foundations of a new one. This applies with special significance to the present world war. The area of the world conflict is the largest ever known. Technological advance during recent years has been most marked and the technique of economic and financial controls has been highly developed during the war.

Following the upheaval caused by the first world war the idea of planned economy for a country has gained ground and is now accepted in a greater or smaller degree by almost all States, totalitarian or democratic. Although it is neither feasible nor desirable to adopt war-time controls in their entirety for the purposes of peace, it is felt that in the war against poverty, ignorance and disease on which India is embarking some of the experience and technique of war-time controls can be usefully employed.

India is a land of extreme poverty, although her natural resources stand comparison with those of many more highly advanced countries. She has a monopoly of jute and is the largest producer of tobacco, oil seeds, hides, lac, and sugar, and the second largest producer of cotton. Her mineral resources are also large. She is one of the largest producers of iron ore of very high quality. She has extensive deposits

of coal, although the deposits of high-grade metallurgical coal are small. She is the largest producer of mica, and the second largest producer of manganese in the world. Nevertheless, the per capita income of her people is estimated to be Rs. 65 per annum on the basis of the prices prevailing during 1931-32 as compared with about Rs. 1,000 for the United Kingdom. According to the authors of the Bombay Plan the minimum income for the bare necessities of life on the same basis is Rs. 74, which shows that part of her population is always living below the margin of subsistence. Her mortality rate has recently improved but is still as high as 22 per 1,000, while her birth-rate is 33. India thus presents the anomalous and depressing spectacle of poverty amidst plenty.

AN ACCEPTED POLICY

The first attempt at preparing an economic plan for India was made by a Committee under the Chairmanship of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. It could not, however, complete its labours, and it was what is known as the Bombay Plan, which brought the question to the notice of the world by defining the objectives and targets in clear and precise terms, and explaining the magnitude of the problem.

The Government of India have accepted the policy of planning and have constituted a special department for the purpose. The Government have not adopted the Bombay Plan or any other plan, although the objectives of the Bombay Plan are similar to their own. The Bombay Plan never claimed to be a blueprint for the future economy of India. The Government are now engaged in the detailed work of preparing the blueprint.

The problem is so vast and bristles with so many difficulties that it might well intimidate the most daring. There is, first of all, the Constitutional difficulty. Almost all the important subjects with which planning has to deal—such as agriculture, industry, education, public health, etc.—fall within the sphere of Provincial responsibility. Planning, on the other hand, has to be carried out on an all India basis. It can only be done, therefore, by mutual consultation, discussion and agreement with the Provinces. As the Provinces themselves vary a great deal in their size, resources and stage of development, it is not easy to arrive at a common agreement with all of them on important issues of policy. Experience of other countries with a Federal Constitution has, however, shown that whatever the degree of autonomy that may be enjoyed by the constituent States or Provinces they have sooner or later to come together for the purpose of economic development and formulate a common policy in the general interest.

It is very much to be hoped that the same will be India's experience. There is, however, the further complication caused by the widely divergent political views of the two major communities. The Muslim League does not desire an all India Centre and is therefore opposed to planning on an all India basis. The Congress on the other hand while in favour of all India planning is against such planning being undertaken by the present Government. On these totally divergent grounds the two principal political parties have combined to oppose the policy of planning and development undertaken by the present Government.

The successful execution of economic planning postulates that the country should be behind it. Planning by its nature implies controls and restrictions, and interferes with some of the established habits and customs of the people. A country can only submit to the restrictions and bear the burdens if they are imposed by a Government which has its full confidence. It is, therefore, necessary for the successful execution of any plan that India should have a Government enjoying the confidence of all important parties. She does not, unfortunately, possess such a Government at present. But economic events cannot indefinitely wait upon politics. India is already behind other countries in the world in the matter of post-war planning, and cannot wait and do nothing until a National Government comes into power. The war in Europe has ended, and the war with Japan may come to an end at any time. Apart from the long-term problems of planning, India will be confronted with the immediate and vital problems of the transition from war to peace. It is, therefore, the duty of the present Government, or of any Government, to tackle such problems, and that is what the Government of India is doing.

THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD

Dealing first with the problems of transition India has put into the field an army of about 2½ million, and has to face a serious problem of demobilization at the end of hostilities. Then there is the equally important question of the employment of the very large volume of labour which is now engaged in different types of activities furthering the war effort. Although a large number of the soldiers will return to their own lands, several Provinces have set apart vacant lands for settling the soldiers, mainly in agricultural colonies. For them, as well as for the men who have already got their own lands, training to fit them to be better agriculturists is being given. A number of labour exchanges have been set up all over the country for providing employment for demobilized men and training in different crafts is also being given at such centres. Arrangements for providing employment to mechanics in co-operative workshops and road transport are being made. A Disposals Board for the disposal of war-time factories, plant and stores no longer required has been set up, and steps are being taken for the conversion of industries from war to peace. It is necessary that the total outlay from Government and private sources after the end of hostilities should approximate the present outlay if a shock to the economic system and the price structure is to be avoided. The object is to maintain prices at a reasonably high, and above all a stable level.

TRAINING INSTITUTIONS

A number of preliminary measures have to be taken in hand for the execution of the plan. Hundreds of thousands of technicians, teachers, doctors and others will be required. Their training is one of the first preliminary measures, and is being taken in hand. Training institutions all over India are increasing the number of admissions by from 50 to 100 per cent. New institutions such as engineering, agricultural, veterinary and forest colleges are being established both at the Centre and in the Provinces. The Government propose to send 500 or more students sponsored by them to the United Kingdom and the U.S.A. for training this year. About 200 technicians from factories in India are also being sent to these countries for advanced training. Technical schools and colleges in India are being expanded and remodelled and a committee has been appointed to consider the question of establishing an all India high grade technological institute somewhat on the lines of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Enquiries are being made both in this country and in the U.S.A. for the recruitment of experts in engineering, agriculture, geology, etc. and for the starting or expansion of various industries. Valuable assistance can be rendered by this country to India in these directions.

The provision of power is the first essential of development. A Central Technical Power Board has been set up to initiate and co-ordinate schemes for electric power development throughout the country and to provide a well-equipped standardizing, testing and research organization. The present power capacity which is of the order of 1 million kw. is expected to reach 3 million in 1960 while the estimated capacity of hydro-electric sites already surveyed is over 6 million. A number of large irrigation and hydro-electric schemes are being taken in hand by the different Provinces and the Government of India has secured reservation of manufacturing capacity for the additional heavy power equipment that will be required. Parallel with this Central Electrical Board, another Board to deal with waterways, irrigation and navigation is being established. It is proposed to set up regional authorities on the lines of the Tennessee Valley Authority to deal with the development of irrigation and hydro-electric power where more than one Province and some Indian States are concerned, as in the case of the Son River in the United Provinces and Bihar and the Damodar River in Bihar and Bengal.

LONG-TERM POLICY

We may now turn to the long-term problems of planning. Agriculture is the foundation of Indian economy. Over 70 per cent. of the population of India live by agriculture. Owing to the large annual increase in the population even a large-scale

industrialization of the country will barely absorb the annual increment of the population. The object of planning is to raise the standard of living of the people. The increase of the productivity of agriculture and the maintenance of a reasonably high and stable level of agricultural prices must, therefore, be one of the first objects of planning. Unless the purchasing power of the masses of the people is thereby improved, it will not be possible to dispose of the products of industry at reasonable prices. Agriculture and industry should, therefore, be complementary and there can be no conflict between them.

The present economy of India is overweighted with agriculture and the object of industrialization is to redress the balance and work for a more evenly balanced economy. The two world wars have proved beyond all shadow of doubt that it is only the highly industrialized country that can defend itself against aggression. In the future India will have to take an important part in the global strategy of defence. She can only do so if she is highly industrialized. The wealth which industry produces is also necessary to provide the amenities in the shape of education, sanitation etc., which she so sorely needs. Although, therefore, a much larger proportion of the national income than at present should be derived from industries, the preponderating proportion of the population must remain agricultural.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTIVITY

The Imperial Council of Agricultural Research in a report issued about a year ago made certain proposals for improving the productivity of agriculture which are now being examined by different committees. The objective laid down is to improve the output of agriculture by 50 per cent in ten years and 100 per cent in fifteen years, at a cost of about Rs. 1,000 crores. The yield of the main agricultural products in India such as rice, wheat and cotton compares very unfavourably with that of other countries. An increase of about 20 per cent in the production of cereals and pulses 50 per cent in fruits, 100 per cent in vegetables, and 300 per cent in milk, fish and eggs is required.

Among the principal measures for the improvement of the productivity of agriculture are irrigation, development of manurial resources, multiplication and distribution of improved seed and the control of pests. As already mentioned a large expansion of irrigation is under contemplation in the different Provinces. The present area under irrigation is 26 per cent, and requires to be considerably enlarged. The policy laid down is that even if an irrigation work yields a poor financial return on the outlay, it should be carried out for the indirect benefit it confers upon the country unless, of course, it is so obviously uneconomic as to lead to a serious drain upon the revenue.

Suggestions have been made and are being adopted for the multiplication of seed farms, development of composting and green manuring and conservation of farmyard manure. A plant for the manufacture of 350,000 tons a year of sulphate of ammonia is being erected by the Government. Soil erosion is a very important problem, the gravity of which has not yet been fully realized in all parts of the country. Useful work in the shape of dry farming and contour bunding in parts of the Bombay Presidency is being done, but the major problem of the reforestation of the areas at the head waters of rivers and streams and the proper conservation of minor forests has not yet been dealt with on a large scale except in parts of the Punjab.

Agricultural improvement also involves revision of the system of land tenure and measures to deal with the great evil of the excessive fragmentation of holdings. These measures, however, affect the social and economic interests of the people, and require very careful handling. In all important issues of policy the Provinces as well as the major States have to be consulted. For these reasons the progress so far made in adopting measures for improvement of agriculture has not been very rapid.

THE INDUSTRIAL FRONT

The Government of India has recently issued a statement of policy regarding industrial development. The main feature of it is that the Government will hereafter

take an active and positive part in the rapid industrialization of the country with the object of increasing wealth, providing fuller and more diversified employment, and enabling the country to defend herself in the event of war. Although before the war India stood eighth among the industrial nations of the world, and although her resources, agricultural as well as mineral, are large, as already pointed out, her industrial backwardness will be seen by the fact that while the output of coal is 5 tons per head in the United Kingdom, it is 0.7 tons per head in India; that of steel is 500 lbs in the United Kingdom and 6 lbs. in India, and electricity used is 600 kwh in the United Kingdom and only 5 in India.

The 1914-18 war exposed very serious gaps in the industrial economy of the country, and although some progress was made by 1939, it was comparatively poor, with the result that the present war found India unprepared for her defence and, owing to the loss of Burma, unable even to feed herself adequately as the Bengal famine has shown. Her contribution to the Allied cause in men and materials has been immense, and almost beyond her strength, nevertheless, the fact remains that if the interval between the two wars had been utilized to industrialize the country, India would have played a far greater part in defending the Allied cause and in defending herself than she has been able to do. If all the implications of Japan's entry into the war and the resulting shipping difficulties had been properly foreseen, steps could have been taken, even after the outbreak of the war, to place India on a better footing to defend herself.

It is true that certain industries, mainly the existing consumer industries, have greatly developed and India is today in a position to manufacture a number of articles which she was importing before the war. Nevertheless her progress during the war in the development of the defence industries and the capital goods industries has been small as compared with the almost phenomenal progress of countries such as Canada and Australia. After these two lessons it is imperative that India should industrialize herself so that she is able to take her full share in the defence of the country in the future.

THE CENTRE AND THE PROVINCES

The Government will hereafter actively assist industries in various ways by subsidies, loans at reduced interest, guarantee of dividends, purchase of its products, etc. There will be a larger measure of Government control, especially for industries receiving Government assistance and those controlling scarce natural resources or those which develop monopolistic tendencies.

The development of industries is now a Provincial subject and it is open to the Central Government under the Constitution to take over the development of certain industries. It is proposed to take over twenty industries regarded as essential for national development for Central control after consultation with the Provinces. Unless that is done it will not be possible to plan for the development on an all India basis. It is the intention of the Government to license some or all of the industries under Central control and to determine their location. The object is to prevent excessive development of certain industries in certain areas as, for instance, the cotton textile industry in Bombay and Ahmadabad, with its accompanying evils of overcrowding and insanitation and to bring about a more equitable distribution of industries, so that areas which are not lacking in natural resources but which have hitherto remained undeveloped should not remain so for ever.

It is in the interests of such undeveloped areas that the proposed industries should come under the control of the Government of India because only in that event can the Government carry out its policy of regionalization.

The first announcement of the Government's industrial policy, communicated to the papers in a summary form, caused a certain amount of misunderstanding, as it was thought that the industries proposed for transfer to Central control were to be nationalized. Such, of course, was not the intention. Ordnance factories, public utilities and railways are already largely State-owned and State-operated in India. The Government has also recently decided that the bulk generation of electric power should, as far as possible, be State-owned. Apart from that, the Government do not at present propose to adopt nationalization, but if they decide that any particular

industry is of national importance, and if private capital is not forthcoming to promote such an industry, the Government will run it itself. Such industries can be defined as including aircraft tractors, chemicals and dyes, iron and steel, transport vehicles, electrical machinery machine tools, etc. Shipbuilding and the manufacture of locomotives and boilers is proposed to be carried out by the State as well as by private enterprise. The Government are also revising their tariff policy, and are examining the question of the promotion of an Industrial Investment Corporation somewhat on the lines of the two Corporations recently established in this country.

Twenty nine panels, consisting of industrialists and experts, are being constituted to consider the question of the establishment or expansion of different industries or groups of industries. These panels will work in consultation with Provincial Industries Committees and submit their report to the Government of India.

NO CLOSED ECONOMY

It may be stated at this stage that it is not the intention of the Government to go in for a closed economy in any shape or form. The development of Indian industry is undertaken with the sole object of increasing the wealth and the standard of living of the country and it is confidently expected that such increase will add to the expansion and growth and not the contraction of the trade and business of India with the United Kingdom and with other countries.

There is a universal feeling in the country that the future expansion of Indian industry, particularly the basic industries, should be under Indian control. This feeling has found expression recently in the Central Legislature as well as in the Press. It is not an unreasonable desire on the part of India and deserves sympathetic consideration.

A plan for the large-scale development of road communication has been formulated by a committee of engineers, and adopted by the Government with the necessary modifications in consultation with the Provinces and States. It aims to provide 400 000 miles of roads at an approximate cost of Rs. 450 crores in the course of fifteen to twenty years. A policy of road and rail co-ordination has been planned and has recently formed the subject of consultation with the Provinces and discussion in the Legislature.

The Central Board of Education has prepared a plan for free and compulsory education of all children between the ages of six to fourteen years, together with generous provision for high school, university and technical education training of defectives, recreation etc. It is estimated to cost Rs. 312 crores per annum at the end of the fortieth year. The plan is being discussed with the Provincial Governments, many of whom are not in a position to adopt it in its entirety on the ground of cost.

PUBLIC HEALTH AND OTHER SURVEYS

Perhaps the most serious and most deplorable feature of India is the state of public health and sanitation. According to Professor Hill the main problems of India are biological. They are the problems of under nourishment low vitality endemic disease, and the phenomenal growth of population at the rate of five to six millions a year. A large and highly qualified committee under the chairmanship of Sir Joseph Bhore has been examining the question of a post war plan for medical relief and public health in India, and the report is expected shortly. Here again the question is one of cost. The report of the committee is not yet out but I understand they estimate that in the first five post war years the cost will be in the nature of 1 rupee 6 annas per head of population, and thereafter 3 rupees 13 annas as compared with the present cost of 3 annas 2 pies per head. The question of town planning and the provision of better housing facilities are also being tackled.

It is proposed to expand the Geological Survey to a very considerable extent, and to take up a more thorough examination of the mineral resources of the country with a view to their proper exploitation.

A Board of Scientific and Industrial Research was set up shortly before the war on the lines of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research in this country. Five national laboratories are to be set up under its aegis—namely, the National

Physical Laboratory at Delhi, the National Chemical Laboratory at Poona the National Meteorological Laboratory at Jamshedpur a Fuel Research Institute at Dhanbad on the coal fields and a Glass and Silicate Research Institute at Calcutta.

A committee is being appointed to consider the whole question of the rationalisation of the coal industry and the better utilization of coal so as to prevent waste and conserve it for metallurgical purposes.

The question of priorities as affecting the various objects of development is often raised. An advance is required on all fronts both revenue producing as well as those which involve expenditure on social services. As already stated, preliminary measures such as those of training, expansion of existing institutions and survey of the power resources must necessarily come first, but apart from these, considerations that will determine priorities will be the availability of trained staff, materials and plant, and the necessity of the employment of labour—e.g. on roads and hydro-electric works.

FINANCIAL ASPECTS

Can India afford a plan of this magnitude? The authors of the Bombay Plan attempted to indicate the various sources from which the expenditure they contemplated could be met. When introducing the 1944-45 Budget Sir Jeremy Raisman the then Finance Member roughly estimated that, given certain assumptions, a figure of Rs. 1,000 crores might be available for the first five effective post-war years of which Rs. 500 crores would consist of revenue surpluses while Rs. 500 crores represented the loan which might be raised by the Centre and the Provinces during the period. Over and above that he thought an approximately similar amount might be available from private investment for industrial development. Out of the Central revenue surplus of Rs. 500 crores, from one-third to one-half will be required for Central development and the rest may be distributed to the different Provinces, roughly in proportion to their population but the special needs of poor Provinces like Orissa and Assam and the North West Frontier Province will have to be borne in mind. The authors of the Bombay Plan estimated an expenditure of Rs. 1,400 crores for the first five-year period. The available finance estimated by Government will stand very good comparison with that figure. It is the availability of plant and machinery, and above all trained personnel that is likely to restrict the pace of development rather than the availability of finance.

It will be seen that, in spite of its handicaps and political difficulties, the present Government has made substantial progress in planning for the development of India. Here is a direction which opens up unlimited possibilities of co-operation between this country and India. For her development India needs capital goods, trained personnel and experts. In all these respects the United Kingdom is in a position to render her very valuable assistance. Co-operation at this juncture will lay the foundations of an expanding trade and business relationship between the two countries based on friendship and equality which would endure when the present political differences have died out and given place to a happier order of things.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held on Tuesday, May 29 1945 at the Royal Society Burlington House, Piccadilly W 1, when the Hon. Sir ARDESHIR R. DALAL read the foregoing paper on Post War Planning in India. Sir GEORGE SCHUSTER, K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G. C.B.E., M.C., M.P., presided.

The CHAIRMAN welcomed Sir Ardeshr Dalal, whose career he had watched with great interest. He himself was one of those who had welcomed the so-called Bombay Plan, it was valuable that Indians should have got together to discuss a plan and set India a target. He also welcomed him as formerly associated with the delega-

tion of Indian industrialists. There was a most urgent desire in this country to co-operate in the industrial and economic development of India, and out of the discussions now taking place he hoped there would arise a new spirit of brotherhood which would go a long way towards bringing about the improved standards of living for the Indian peasantry, together with security without which they could not live in peace. Friendly economic relations between India and Great Britain would help both countries.

After the reading of the paper,

The CHAIRMAN said that the address had made clear what a gigantic task lay before the Government of India. He looked back to his own time as Finance Member and the debates in the Legislative Assembly when expenditure of Rs. 50 or Rs. 60 crores on the Army was considered a staggering amount and now Sir Ardeshr was talking in terms of expenditure of Rs. 1,400 crores.

There were two preliminary questions he would like to ask. Sir Ardeshr said that a number of irrigation and hydroelectric schemes were being undertaken by the Provinces and that the Government had secured reservation of manufacturing capacity for the necessary equipment. What did that mean? Sir Ardeshr also said that it was proposed to set up regional authorities on the lines of the Tennessee Valley Authority for the development of hydro-electric power. He would like to know a little more about that.

He would like to make another point. Full industrial development of the whole of India must be a matter of generations. Would it be possible to select one particular area where conditions were favourable for a balanced development which could be intensively developed at the outset on the lines of the Tennessee Valley Scheme? That would provide an illustration which all could see, at the same time as the general plans were developing.

Turning to the broad conception of the plan, one could divide it up into a number of different problems or aspects. He would like to mention three. First of all, the fundamental problem on which everything depended was that of personnel. Sir Ardeshr had made it clear that he fully recognized India's dependence on getting the right type of skilled technicians and craftsmen, as well as administrators experienced in the running of industrial undertakings. He saw what a long journey India had to go in order to get people of the right kind. The war would have had a beneficial effect in speeding up the tempo of the production of skilled operatives but the future need would be very great. This was one of the lines on which co-operation from this country might be very valuable.

A second question of fundamental importance arising out of the plan was that of the relations between the State authority and independent enterprise. He thought there had been a certain amount of misconception about the plan as announced by the Government of India. The statement that certain industries would become the concern of the Central Government had been interpreted in some quarters as meaning that the Government intended to impose either State ownership or complete State control. But he took it that what was intended was merely that they should become

Central instead of Provincial subjects. At the same time, however, it was quite clear that the Government contemplated playing a very important rôle in guiding development, stimulating it in certain directions and restraining it in others. It was fairly generally recognized in this country now even among those who did not believe in State Socialism that, having regard to the problems to be faced and the conditions in which we should have to work, the sum of unregulated activities of individual enterprise would not add up to a total which would satisfy the public conscience, and that there must be some guidance from the Government to ensure that private businesses took account of the public consequences of their actions and that they co-operated in achieving defined national purposes.

This led to the question of the technique to be developed for co-operation between the Government and individual enterprise. The forthcoming election in this country would largely be fought on that issue, and he personally stood strongly for the conception that there had to be evolved some new kind of synthesis between Government guidance and individual enterprise. The desired results would not be achieved

either in this country or in India by superimposing any form of centralized and rigid bureaucratic control.

He believed that India might give a lead in developing the right kind of co-operation. There had been experience of this in the past in India. Indeed, she had been in advance of many countries in that respect.

A third point of fundamental importance concerned the relation between India and outside countries. It was quite clear that if India's industrialization was not to take an intolerably long time there would have to be importation of capital goods on a very large scale. He could not see the public in India tolerating any scheme on the austere lines of the Russian five- and ten-year plans. In any case there was not in India a big enough margin to sustain that kind of sacrifice of current consumption for the creation of capital equipment. Therefore it would be necessary to import. There would obviously be some awkward questions to be settled between this country and India on that subject. The handling of India's sterling balances was a subject on which friction and misunderstanding could arise even among those most desirous to co-operate. This brought up political issues. Sir Ardeshr had spoken of the difficulties of proceeding with plans in the present political atmosphere. Clearly no Government could carry out such ideas with full success unless it held the confidence of the people. Nevertheless they could not wait, they must make preparations to go ahead. He recognized the dilemma pointed out by Sir Ardeshr and he wanted to suggest that there was one kind of preparatory work which would be a necessary preliminary to any kind of arrangement, and which could perhaps be undertaken with out involving political trouble. That was the work of establishing an objective survey of the factual position including a forecast of India's future economic structure and requirements. He recognized the practical difficulties but he believed it would be possible to survey the Indian position and to work out at least on broad lines a forecast of the kind of goods to be imported for the next five years, of what it would be possible to export, and generally of what India's relations with outside countries would in fact be in the realm of international trade.

On the British side a similar factual survey and forecast could be made. It was very necessary that this should be done realistically since much as he wished to see co-operation between India and Great Britain, the extent of what could be done would be dependent on what British resources could be made available. Britain had to face formidable domestic tasks. The use of her resources would have to be carefully planned. He hoped there would be a balance available for exporting capital goods which India would want. Then too the position of the United States had to be considered on the same kind of factual basis. In the years immediately following the war the U.S.A. would be the only country in the world with an immense surplus capacity. India's development must be fitted in with these realities. He wanted to see a practical plan worked out designed to give India the maximum advantage. He suggested, accordingly, that there should be a conference between representatives of Great Britain and India to make a survey of the factual position as to India's needs and what Great Britain could supply. He would like to see the United States joining in—perhaps at a later stage—on the same basis. In this way there could at least be established a correct factual appreciation of the position which all could accept. Controversy so often arose because the different parties had different ideas about the facts. He therefore felt that conferences on the lines suggested might prove to be of great value and help to avoid misunderstanding and controversy. They could be undertaken without involving any political implications.

SIR JEREMY RAISMAN (late Finance Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council) said that much of what Sir Ardeshr Dalal said on the subject of the Government of India's plans could be embodied in the things he had thought yesterday, and he saw no reason to change his mind about the matters which Sir Ardeshr and he had considered together very recently. The Chairman spoke of the magnitude of the figures being handled in connection with this plan, but India had moved a good deal since the days when a deficit of Rs. 13 crores was a very serious matter. One of the greatest countries in the world had been seen deliberately unbalancing its Budget in order to reverse pernicious trends resulting from too close attention to the balancing

of the Budget. It had been realized that that kind of balancing meant that the expenditure side had to be scaled down to a continuously diminishing revenue and a deflationary spiral set in. It looked as though the world had decided that after this war that particular mistake would not be made. If they moved in the other direction it might start another spiral moving—the upward and expansionist spiral—but there was a good deal of faith that it could not lead to the degree of misery which the world experienced in the early thirties.

The Government of India's Budget was now of the order of Rs 400 or Rs 500 crores per annum—five or six times what it was before the war. That had to be adjusted for the alteration in the price level but even if one took into account the general index at the present moment as of the order of 250 against 100 in 1939 there was still a very great increase in the scale of the Government of India's finances. Not only that, but during the war there had been expenditure in India on account of other Governments of a magnitude equal to or exceeding that of the Government in India so that the total outlay had been ten or fifteen times what it was before.

That could not happen without very profound changes taking place. In terms of rupees the change in the price level meant that the national income was very much larger than before, in real terms also it had increased very much. The main problem with which he himself had been concerned was the avoidance of inflation. In some ways planning at the end of a war was facilitated by recent experiences: a large number of controls were in action and it was natural to say "We have spent hundreds of crores during the last five or six years on the work of destruction: let us carry on with the same fervour and impetus to the work of construction. The end of a war was a bad time for a big development plan from the monetary point of view. The fact that large sums had been expended was not necessarily the best reason for expending other large sums. The real difficulty was not so much a matter of trying to avoid any further increase in the national debt, that was comparatively less important but that further large expenditure might mean further inflation. At the end of a war there was a good deal of purchasing power which was waiting to be or was already being employed in various ways which might be deleterious to the community. The ideal foundation for a big development plan was the opposite state of affairs. If the country was coming out of a deflation, public spending could be allowed to outrun the measures of economic control without great anxiety. One would like to see the price level rising at a rate which would stimulate incentive and enterprise but at the end of a war those effects had already been felt and one was in the dangerous position of not wishing to impose further expansionist influence on an already highly stimulated position.

This was a little technical, but it was, in his opinion, the most important thing to which the Government had to have regard in embarking on the stage of planning. The Government had to feel the economic pulse of the country in order to determine whether it was going too fast. If the price level started to rise very rapidly it would mean that the poor people of the country were being subjected to the most severe and regressive form of taxation, the purchasing power being distributed to the people in return for their efforts would be continuously and rapidly deteriorating in value and they would soon realize it.

The Chairman had touched on the question of the sterling balances and the necessity for a factual survey of the actual requirements of India and what Great Britain could spare or produce and later what part the United States could play in providing these requirements. He agreed that there should be such a survey but the difficulty would be to determine what was a purely factual survey. The needs of a country were not merely an objective fact, the expression of those needs embodied certain psychological factors, certain aspirations and ideals. In determining what the United Kingdom could provide one was up against the question of the standard of living which should be maintained for the next few years. There was no doubt that Great Britain had to greatly stimulate her export trade but there were competing demands in the home market and the question of how much production would be allocated to that market and how much to exports, how much would pay for current import requirements, and how much would go to pay for some of the liabilities incurred during the war were not purely factual questions, but were questions which could

become highly controversial. It would be extraordinarily difficult to disentangle the factual from the psychological or political in that matter.

As one who had spent a good deal of time in India he was most perturbed by one aspect. Sir Ardeshr on several occasions in comparing the position in India with the position in other countries gave *per capita*, the figures of output and income per head and at another stage he referred to the question of population. The population trend was a tremendous factor in the whole of the future picture, and he wondered whether sufficient attention was being given in India to what could be done about that problem. Very strong social and religious sentiment was involved but if it had to be assumed that the population of India would rise by five or so millions a year there would be a much more formidable problem than the financial one. No plan could cope with that, and the standard of living would be continuously adjusted downward to the minimum level of existence. A courageous tackling of that problem was the No. 1 requirement of India.

Mr A. K. MUKERJI said that development in any country could only be based on the economics of scarcity or the economics of plenty. That had certain implications, planning had to be for the benefit of the people as a whole and that being so, planning must have production for use and not merely production for profit. Trade and commerce must either continue within the limits of the nineteenth century economics or on the basis of the exchange of goods and service. These were some of the points in the light of which Sir Ardeshr's paper required examination. He was of the opinion that the Government of India's planning reflected not only the Bombay Plan's objectives but its guiding principles as such it was likely to defeat the very purposes of planning. The standard of living for instance would have to be judged in terms of the welfare of the people, and that included not only articles of necessity but social amenities such as health, public services, education, and it was a matter for the Government to find ways and means, irrespective of considerations of cost, to see that a standard of living guaranteed on a rising basis was brought about.

Sir Ardeshr spoke of the importance of agriculture and pointed out the difficulties and possibilities but at one point he was afraid the paper reflected the deficiency of the Government's policy. It was not sufficient to talk of modernization or the quality of the agricultural products. The agriculturalist must be freed from the present land economy and not to try to solve that problem would be unjust to the plan itself.

The Government of India had recently published its industrial policy insufficient mention had been made of it in the paper but judging from the Government document the main criticism should not be from the direction mentioned by Sir Ardeshr but from another. Provision had been made for the State financing of approved industries, but no provision had been made for guaranteeing a control of profits, wages or workers. What would be the benefit accruing to the average consumer if the industrial control was affected in one way or the other?

There was a further point. The whole problem of financing was very difficult. Reference had been made to the sterling balances. There had been one other plan in India the People's Plan for economic development. Why was it that the Government of India Planning Department, which was supposed to be representative of the entire population of the country had not taken any guidance from any of the principles incorporated in the plan? If the aim was public welfare the average Indian must have the necessities of life. That meant industrialization in the direction of consumer's goods. The Government of India must see to it that there was not a hue and cry because an attempt was made to import consumer goods because of the strain on the supply of home produced goods. If commerce was on the basis of the exchange of goods and services then the sterling balances which had accrued would not be a nightmare to Britain or to India. The sterling balances did not belong to the industrialists who had made profits in this war, they were the property of the nation and should be utilized for the benefit of the people. This could only be done on the basis of goods and services and that would benefit not only India but the people of Great Britain. Otherwise there would be serious difficulties not only in this country but also in India.

The CHAIRMAN said that the success or failure of the Government of India's plans would be judged in this country by its effect on the standard of living of the people of India. No Government could propose a plan which would be judged on any other basis.

Sir ALFRED WATSON agreed that there were unlimited possibilities of co-operation between this country and India, but, as one who had advocated the more rapid industrialization of India years before the Bombay or any other Plan was heard of, he hoped he would be forgiven for being a little critical. The warrant for what he had to say would be found in Sir Ardeshr's statement that there was a universal feeling in India that the future expansion of Indian industry should be under Indian control. India asked that we should furnish technicians and trained men, it expected that the results of research in industry and science should be freely placed at the disposal of India. It was clear if the gap between present resources and what it was proposed to spend was to be bridged that India must seek capital from outside. These demands were not so much on the level of business as on that of benevolence.

What was offered in return? In all large business enterprises there was to be a majority of Indian capital. Indians were to have unquestioned control and there were to be high tariffs against goods competing with Indian goods and Indian industries would be subsidized to compete against British industries already established in India.

These were not conditions under which other backward countries had welcomed assistance in their development. The terms offered were not good enough for co-operation; they would not be attractive to Great Britain, and certainly not to the United States of America. He would like to put the reverse side of the picture. There was an Indian business run on Indian capital on the borders of the Chairman's constituency which had developed during the war and looked to further development after the war; it was employing British labour and paying good wages. That sort of enterprise was welcomed here and every assistance was given. We knew that the larger benefit accrued to British labour. India would do well to take the same view in dealing with the British.

He believed there was an abundance of goodwill towards India in this country. The British desired to see India prosperous and to aid in making her so, but India must smooth the path for her own assistance. Co-operation must be based upon equality and reciprocity. India could not afford, at the outset of a new era, to antagonize her chief customers. She would be unwise in the extreme to use her new found resources in buying out foreign interests already established in India. That course had been advocated by some of the Bombay planners; it was not the path of co-operation. The programme outlined that afternoon would put an enormous strain upon Indian finances and upon the Indian people. It might be possible but only if India conserved all the capital at present invested in India in industry and commerce and devoted every anna of her new found resources to enterprises which awaited development.

Sir ARDESHIR DALAL, in reply to the discussion, said that a number of important irrigation schemes were already under way in different Provinces. In many electric schemes were combined with the irrigation schemes. For manufacturing capacity a tentative reservation of about Rs. 25 to Rs. 30 crores for equipment had already been made. It was proposed to work some of the schemes on the T.V.A. lines, and steps had already been taken for the purpose.

The Chairman's suggestion that there should be regional development had received consideration. In Bombay certain districts had been selected for intensive development in all directions, especially districts which had done very good work in the matter of war recruiting and it was also contemplated that Delhi would be selected as an area for intensive development on all the lines he mentioned in the paper. The provision of skilled personnel would be a handicap and an endeavour was being made to upgrade skilled personnel as much as possible.

The main problem was the reconciling of individual enterprises with Govern-

ment control so that individual enterprise worked for the common benefit. In that matter this country with its traditions of liberty with order was in a position to give a lead to the rest of the world.

The question of a factual survey of the actual position for the next five years was also receiving consideration. When he said that he meant a survey in the matter of actual goods which it was estimated would be required for a five-year period without entering into the psychological factors which Sir Jeremy Raisman had brought into the matter. The Government had not sufficient statistics, and the industrialists were chary of mentioning their requirements, but a rough estimate of capital goods had been made and they were already in consultation with authorities and industrialists in this country as to the extent to which they would be able to supply these requirements. The idea was to come to Great Britain for what Great Britain could supply, for what she could not supply or was not manufactured here India would go to the United States or elsewhere.

It was true that at the end of a war there could not be further expansion, but the problem was that with the cessation of an extensive war and the demobilization of men and labour there would be a question of deflation and reduction of prices, and with a constant attention to price levels it should be possible to maintain the level attained during the war so as to prevent a precipitate decline in prices.

The population problem was the crucial problem of India. It was a question which engaged attention when discussing the Bombay Plan but it was a matter in which so many considerations were imported that it was difficult for a few men sitting round a table to arrive at a conclusion, and he had so far not found any cut and dried solution to it.

Mr Mukerji spoke about production for use instead of production for profit. He did not know whether Mr Mukerji was anxious that India should abandon the capitalist economy and go in for out and-out socialism but the only solution was that there might be production for profit on the present basis, the profit to be controlled in the public interest. There should be a certain measure of Government control so that individuals could not make profits entirely in their own interests.

Mr Mukerji also referred to the People's Plan. The Government had considered all the different plans and had tried to evolve what was best in them all. The sterling balances belonged to the country as a whole and should be utilized for the benefit of the country as a whole. The idea was that so far as the demands of India were met from the current balances they would be met in the usual manner. Only when the demands from India exceeded the current balances would the sterling balances come into operation. It was not the intention that the sterling balances should be earmarked for the benefit of any particular class.

He was sorry that Sir Alfred Watson introduced an unnecessarily controversial issue into the paper which was meant to be a general description of the planning which the Government had undertaken. The statements which he had made with regard to the intention of the Government in subsidizing industries and the motives he had attributed were unfounded and the picture he had given of the state of affairs with regard to these was incorrect. He would be glad to have a private discussion with him to remove any misunderstanding.

There was no intention on the part of the Government to treat British industry unfairly, the whole intention was to arrive at a settlement which would lead to enduring permanent relationships based on goodwill and co-operation. The population of India amounted to one-fifth of the total population of the whole world, and even a slight increase in the standard of living would lead to such an enormous increase in purchasing power that it would mean improved trade not only for India and this country but for the whole world. It was only in that spirit that the Government of India was trying to bring about the industrialization of India and improve ment in its standards. No harm was meant in the least to British industries.

Sir HUBERT CARR proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman and Lecturer for a very interesting afternoon, which was accorded by applause.

Mr E. BARCHINOR late I.C.S., writes "I was trained in the school that required a project to be supported not only by a careful estimate of the probable return on that cost to the Provincial revenues—the orthodox financial concepts of paragraph 7 of the Bombay Plan. That Plan makes a scanty estimate of cost, but scarcely any estimate at all of the return. Some attempt should be made to ascertain the return from expenditure on roads and education. In regard to agriculture improved tillage, though not mentioned in the paper is over large regions of India more important than irrigation. The tractor will greatly improve the yield of crops. No doubt it will also increase erosion. Erosion appears to have become to many, a bogey. A permanent increase in fertility in unirrigated land is quite consistent with a permanent increase in erosion the two cannot be separated. Alcohol is not mentioned in the Bombay Plan or in the paper though of great industrial value for purposes other than power production. The word planning is new, but the work of our predecessors was of the same character and was inspired by motives no less public spirited

(End of the Proceedings of the East India Association)

RURAL RECONSTRUCTION IN HYDERABAD

By B S TOWNROE

THE Government of Hyderabad are facing the problems of rural reconstruction with the same foresight and wisdom as mark their policy in health services housing and town-planning. These social activities have already been described fully in previous issues of the ASIATIC REVIEW.

Rural reconstruction is guided in Hyderabad by the Central Board assisted in many ways by the co-operative societies. But the inspiration behind the movement is that of H.E.H. the Nizam. He recognizes that land is the great national asset, and that the health and balance of agriculture depend on satisfactory living conditions for all who live in rural communities. This message which he sent to his people well expresses the spirit animating all aspects of rural reconstruction in Hyderabad.

The facilities afforded by my Government may prove beneficial but you should also exert yourself in your own interest and for your own welfare. Improve your agriculture and your trade. Cultivate the habits of hard work and thrift. Save yourselves from indebtedness and wasteful expenditure. Avail yourselves of Government Departments like the Agricultural the Commerce and Industries the Co-operative Societies and other Departments which have been created for educating you. I am deeply interested in village uplift. It is my wish that the life of the villagers may become increasingly prosperous.

There is a marked similarity between the Nizam's message to his people and Mr Churchill's historic broadcast speech on Britain's post-war policy and problems. Speaking of British agriculture and the necessity to grow a larger proportion of our food at home the Prime Minister said

I hope to see a vigorous revival of healthy village life on the basis of these higher wages and of improved housing, and what with the modern methods of locomotion and the modern amusements of the cinema and the wireless, to which will be added television, life in the country and on the land ought to compete in attractiveness with life in the great cities. If the expansion and improvement of British agriculture is to be maintained as it must be maintained and a reasonable level of prices is to be maintained, as it must be maintained, there are likely to be substantial charges which the State must be prepared to shoulder.

So too in the State of Hyderabad vast irrigation projects are entailing the expenditure of millions of rupees. The Co-operative Movement is being consolidated and popularized with a grant from the State of (on the average) four lakhs a year. Organizations have been set up for marketing agricultural products and for dealing with the problem of moneylending. All these measures are intended to give substantial relief to the peasant population.

ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL

Control and co-ordination of all these various activities are exercised by the Central Board. This consists of twenty members, including all members of the State Executive Council, seven Directors of the State Departments that deal with such subjects as education, agriculture and industry, and one representative of the Central Co-operative Union. Local Boards have been established at district and *taluka* headquarters.

The Councils meet once every two months in the villages selected for intensive development activities. All families are encouraged to take a direct interest in the work organized by the Rural Reconstruction Co-operative Society of the locality. The sole qualification for membership is either a subscription of a few annas per annum or the contribution of free labour for a day or two each year. Societies whose membership includes at least 25 per cent. of the village householders are giving substantial grants-in-aid from the local funds. If the village patel is known to be sincerely interested in rural development he usually becomes the chairman, while the village schoolmaster is generally the secretary. The Councils aim at developing production by popularizing better methods of farming and animal husbandry and encouraging rural industries, rural credit and marketing schemes. The fundamental principle is, however, that material and economic development must precede social and cultural progress. Poverty and debts to moneylenders are recognized as the real curses of village life in Hyderabad. In the words of the official report on the subject, unless poverty is properly attacked in the economic field it will be illusory to cherish hopes of improving the external appearance of the villages or of raising the intellectual standard of its people.

The following details of what has been accomplished are given in the Report. Councils have been set up in 16 districts and 74 *talukas*, and reconstruction societies registered in 120 villages. Their activities include the distribution of improved seeds, manures, flower seeds and plants, the repair and digging of soak pits and drains, the organization of rat-killing campaigns and baby weeks, vegetable, poultry and fruit shows. At Naikal a night school for adults and a library have been established. At Boipalli a Meeting Hall has been built. In many villages the visitor can today see demonstration plots made out by the Agricultural Department, and the ryots using improved seeds and making manure pits. At Borlam villagers have started kitchen gardens and planted their own fruit trees. Patancheru is the great centre of rural development in the Nizam's dominions. It is a training ground for all rural development workers where are demonstrated scientific methods of keeping poultry and goats and growing vegetables, fruit and flowers. There is an excellent rural museum. Instruction too is given by means of lectures, shows, demonstrations and theatrical performances.

In order to encourage the younger generation to throw off the fetters of ignorance and superstition, monetary prizes are provided. The money is used for the collective benefit of the villages which succeed in obtaining prizes. It is spent, for example, on the construction and improvements of village schools, on the provision of wells for drinking water, on the purchase of sports equipment for playgrounds, or the installation of wireless sets, and on the supply of medicine chests. Or the prize may be even used to buy a village breeding bull.

One of the handicaps to all this work is the drink and drug evil. In order to combat this the Central Temperance Committee receives an annual grant from the State. A policy of persuasion has been adopted, using a monthly magazine published in all the *Malki* languages, magic lantern shows, open-air lectures, plays and exhibitions, all designed to explain the benefits of temperance.

Primarily, however, the activities of the Central Board in Hyderabad are directed to agriculture, from which the peasant derives his principal livelihood. Agricultural

traditions differ considerably in the Nizam's Dominions. In the Telangana region, which is full of hills and valleys, rainwater is collected in tanks. Here most villages receive their water supply and grow rice twice a year. Wet crops are grown with the help of wells which the peasants are now permitted to dig themselves. But in other districts such as the Marathwara and the Karnatak districts, wet crops are grown only in small areas. For the last thirty years suspensions and remissions in the collection of land revenue have been generously allowed in any year when the produce of the land has been greatly decreased owing to the failure of crops. It is, however, fully realized that no amount of remissions in the land revenue would be of any avail unless coupled with the policy which aims at eradicating the root cause of the evil by effecting an improvement, not only in the standard of living of the peasant, but also in his methods, his outlook, and particularly in the means available to him for agricultural processes and for the marketing of his produce.

With this in view research work has evolved at least two new varieties of rice, and improved the oil contents of the castor crops. The quality of that has been improved. Cactus is being destroyed by the introduction of the cochineal insect. The cotton boll worm pest is being controlled on a large scale. Cattle breeding on scientific lines so as to clear away diseased strains, is being encouraged by the circulation of bulls bred at the Agricultural Farm. White Leghorn and Rhode Island Red fowls have been introduced into the villagers' poultry pens. Fresh types of fruits, including bananas, are being tried. Above all, the peasants are learning to incorporate the results of all this research and experiment into their day-to-day operations. They are also assisted to sell their agricultural produce under good conditions, with control of methods of auction and with maximum market charges.

COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

Special efforts, too, are made to encourage cottage industries. In this way the cultivator is provided with the means of keeping himself occupied during periods of enforced idleness. Some crafts, of course, provide whole-time occupation. The Government Carpet Factory at Warangal, the Weaving Institute at Paithan and the Naumal Toy industry are the most notable examples of Government efforts to revive cottage industries. Loans are granted to small-scale industrialists. Scholarships are given to deserving students who wish to be trained in such technical subjects as weaving, dyeing, and carpentry in Institutes situated outside the Nizam's Dominions. A Central Technical Institute has now been open in Hyderabad itself for the last fifteen years. Here instruction has been given to upwards of a thousand boys in weaving, dyeing and printing, knitting, woollen spinning, the weaving of druggets and blankets, embroidery and needlework, rattan work, toymaking, lacquer work and silk weaving. The students are given free lodging and instruction during these technical courses.

From this centre home industries are spreading to all parts of the Nizam's Dominions. As they are revived and fostered, so better arrangements are being made for the sale of their products. There have been established both in Hyderabad and Aurangabad Cottage Industries Sales Depôts which enable the artisans to exhibit their products for direct sale and so to free themselves from the burden of a middleman's profit. Some of these industries notably metalware in silver, are the heritage of the Deccan. This delicate filigree work is officially encouraged for it is believed that the finished silver ware will find a ready sale. Salesmen have been appointed to direct the craftsmen in the manufacture of the best and latest designs, and to help them to find a market for the finished products.

It is interesting to compare what is being done in Hyderabad with the efforts in Great Britain to revive rural life, material, economic and cultural. The report on Rural Housing issued here by the Central Housing Advisory Committee advocated much more attention after the war to remedying the slum conditions still to be found in British villages. The Minister of Health is striving to extend the provision of electricity, water and gas, but the war has hampered progress. Women's Institutes in English villages have done much to meet the social needs of women. Here, too, they are encouraging rural industries. Although, of course, the conditions are far different in Hyderabad from those in Great Britain, nevertheless in both countries

there is a practical and progressive attitude towards the promotion of a more efficient agriculture and a better social and material life for those who live in the country.

There are, however, two movements in Hyderabad of special interest. Here the Nizam's Dominions may be giving a lead to Great Britain. The Co-operative Movement has made rapid strides in Hyderabad since 1927, and the idea of co-operation has penetrated even to the remotest villages. These societies have done much to prevent moneylending which is rampant in an epidemic form all over India and is not entirely unknown even in English villages. But, of course, in Great Britain banks and building societies have done much to check some of the worst abuses of the private moneylender.

At the apex of the movement is the Dominion Bank of Hyderabad, which includes twenty-seven central banks and two hundred and twenty-three agricultural and non agricultural societies. The grain banks* are established so that villages may have their own stores and lend out grain for consumption as well as for sowing purposes. The profit earned on these loans is considerable, and is returned to the members in the shape of a rebate. H. E. H. the Nizam has generously advanced large loans to ensure the financial stability of the Central Banks, and to save thousands of cultivators during the difficult initial stages from possible bankruptcy and failure.

MONEYLENDING CHECKED

But even these banking facilities were not sufficient to combat the widespread evil of rural moneylending. On private loans high rates of interest were charged, some as high as 30 per cent. on cash loans and 50 per cent. on loans in kind, with compound interest in addition! It is small wonder that under such conditions the land was quickly passing from the peasants into the hands of non-agricultural classes. Accordingly two measures were passed to regulate moneylending and to settle past debts. These regulations went a long way in solving the problem and checking this evil. They have now been replaced by permanent legislative Acts, which are the foundation of all debt relief measures. Conditional sales have been forbidden, agriculturalists cannot alienate or create charges on the produce of their land for more than one year without official sanction. Arrangements are made to clear off outstanding debts. In short, moneylenders are now drastically controlled. As a result of these legislative measures the general economic condition of the peasants has been greatly improved in many districts.

Another fundamental reform has been the provision of public works and irrigation schemes. So far some 14 crores of rupees have been spent in public irrigation. There are now over 24,000 tanks providing water every year to about 1 million acres. There are also over 170,000 wells providing water to over $\frac{1}{2}$ million acres. These wells are of two types. In the one water is obtained by gravitation and in the other raised by lifts and pumps. Other extensive irrigation projects are in progress with a view to increasing the production of rice, which is still insufficient to meet the needs of consumers in the State.

A further indirect aid to agriculture is the improvement of means of communication. Railways and roads have been extended by the Government at a heavy cost. Today the Public Works Department maintains some 5,000 miles of roads. Many branch railway lines have been constructed and linked up by railway buses so as to check uneconomic competition and help cultivators to transport their product at low rates to the market.

But no material schemes of rural reconstruction would in the opinion of the Central Board, be complete without more education. Personal talks, demonstrations, a cinema van equipped with films, travelling dispensaries, posters and leaflets are among the educational means used to convince the villagers of the desirability of co-operating actively in the promotion of health measures. In general education, attention is necessarily concentrated in villages on primary education, the bulk of the cost of which is borne by the Government. Schools have been opened up in scores of villages where in the past illiteracy was almost universal, while over 1,000 existing

* The illustrations are of a Co-operative bank issuing loans to farmers at Pantancheru, and of grain being received at a bank at a village in the same area.

village schools are being extended and enlarged. There is a long-term building plan for the construction and maintenance of building.

Much, too, has been done in improving conditions of recruiting and payment of teachers. School committees are being set up for all these primary schools. On these sit local residents, whose duty it is to encourage pupils to attend, and to bring special requirements before the notice of the inspectors. In the villages the majority of the pupils naturally remain on the soil in later life and therefore do not need more than a primary education. For such men during their school days a special syllabus has been created which has a distinct bias to handicrafts. The whole course is so framed that at the end of the primary stage the pupil should have received sufficient mental and manual training to make him a useful citizen. But if he possesses the necessary qualifications he is encouraged to join an industrial school to be trained in some technical subject. There was in the past a good deal of wastage due to the low standard of teaching and the lack of practical features in the curriculum. As a result of a considerable increase in the rates of pay the Education Department is now recruiting better qualified and better trained teachers. The changes in the curriculum are now evoking a good response. The main aim of those responsible is not only to make primary education more interesting but also more adequately to equip the pupil for his future vocation in life. It is believed that in consequence of these measures the future rural population will be well able to look after their own interests and increase the production of their fields by more scientific methods.

These rural educational developments are still in an early stage. There is no suggestion in the report of setting up social centres like the Village Colleges in Cambridgeshire, which combine the functions of club, village hall, theatre, library and adult education centres. But the inspiration is there and the progress already made is remarkable.

The report on Rural Reconstruction in Hyderabad gives many other concrete examples of what has been done. But it can best be summed up in the language of the compiler. The elaborate machinery set up to cope with the modern requirements of the countryside is a measure of the realization by the authorities that the prosperity of a State lies in its smiling fields rather than in its stately edifices and in a contented peasantry rather than in its patrician ranks.

DIAMONDS OF GOLCONDA

BY THEO W LA TOUCHE

GOLCONDA—the very name of this old hill fort which was once the seat of the Qutb Shahu dynasty and is now considered to be one of the largest castle ruins in the world has long ago become a synonym in the English language for fabulous wealth or mine of wealth, as the Concise Oxford English Dictionary has it. This connotation may be traced directly to the fact that early travellers used to speak of the diamond mines of Golconda. As the late Captain Leonard Munn of the Hyderabad Geological Survey, has pointed out in the first quarterly journal issued by the Department, it is only natural that the name Golconda should be affixed to the mines, for though they were far to the south of the Fort, from the earliest Hindu times and subsequently under the Qutb Shahu dynasty, Golconda was the capital, the treasury and the mart for diamonds.

Ample evidence has been adduced by Captain Munn in his interesting study of these diamond mines to show that they occupied that portion of the Deccan, adjacent to the Krishna River, which now comprises parts of Cudappah, Kurnool, Bellary, Guntur and Godavary districts. These mines, the richness of which was enormous, were the sole sources of the world's supply of diamonds up to the year 1728. The areas in which the diamonds were mined are mentioned in an old Sanskrit work of the sixth century known as *Brhat Sanhita*, where the Telangana country is called

Matanga Marco Polo refers to these diamond-mining areas under the name of Mutufili, after a port called Mutupalli.

The well-known adventure of Sundbad the Sailor in the valley of gems, as related in the *Arabian Nights*, finds a counterpart in the description of the quaint process of diamond mining given by Niccolo de Conti, an Italian trader and traveller in the fifteenth century. He has related how in the hill districts infested by snakes, where the diamonds lie, at certain periods of the year men bring oxen and drive them to the top of the hill, and having cut them in pieces, cast the warm and bleeding fragments upon the summit of the other mountain. The diamonds stuck to these fragments. Then come the vultures and eagles which seizing the meat for their food fly away with it to places where they may be safe from serpents. To these places afterwards come men and collect the diamonds. Captain Munn gives it as his opinion that this tale is a garbled account of the annual sacrifice to the tutelary goddess of wealth, Lakshmi, though the Dravidian workers, who would not know the Aryan Lakshmi, treated the ceremony as a propitiatory sacrifice to the Great Earth Mother Goddess and her attendant sprites. It appears very probable that the tale of the valley of gems in the *Arabian Nights* had its origin in the custom alluded to above.

Of all early European travellers who have written about diamonds and diamond mining Monsieur Jean Baptiste Tavernier a jeweller by trade who between 1636 and 1662 made six voyages to the East for the purpose of collecting gems and trading, has left the most interesting accounts of the diamond mines associated with Golconda. Tavernier has much to say about his visit to Golconda. The village of Karwan which at the present day forms the oldest suburb of Hyderabad City, was during Tavernier's time situated on the main road to Golconda. The diamond cutters and polishers lived here and it is probable that Tavernier himself lodged at the large Serai or rest house there.

In his *Travels in India* Tavernier records his visits to Ravalconda (literally meaning Precious stone hill-fort) and Ganu Kollur the latter place being famous as the birth place of the Great Moghul diamond, which subsequently became the celebrated Koh-i-Nur. He witnessed the miners at work at Ravalconda and Kollur, and gives interesting descriptions of the primitive methods employed by the miners. Referring to the method used at Ravalconda, he says: "All round the place where the diamonds are found the soil is sandy and full of rocks and jungle somewhat comparable to the neighbourhood of Fontainebleau. There are in these rocks many veins, some of half a finger and some of a whole finger in width, and the miners have small irons crooked at the ends, which they thrust into the veins to draw from them the sand or earth, which they place in vessels, it is in this earth that they afterwards find the diamonds." It is in this mine that the cleanest and whitest watered diamonds are found but the evil is that in order to extract the sand more easily from the rocks the miners strike such blows with a heavy iron crowbar that it fractures the diamonds and gives rise to flaws. Tavernier witnessed a propitiatory puja performed by the owner of a mine at Kollur with the aid of an image and a priest before commencing work. He describes how the miners bathed and feasted at the owner's expense to give them courage and induce them to acquit themselves faithfully.

As related by Tavernier the Great Moghul diamond was found at Kollur (Tavernier calls the place Coulour) on the Krishna River in 1656 or 1657, and was presented in an uncut state by Mir Jumla to Shahjehan. At this time the stone is said to have weighed 900 ratis or 787½ carats. When Tavernier handled this stone in Aurangzeb's treasury in 1665 it weighed 319½ ratis or 279½ carats, having been reduced to this size by a Venetian impostor named Hortensio Borgia by wasteful grinding instead of cleaning.

The history of the famous Koh-i-Nur the title which Nadir Shah conferred upon the Great Moghul when he sacked Delhi, is too well known to need recapitulation here, but the story told about this diamond by Miss Forbes, a relation of Lord Lawrence, to Captain Munn, and retold by the latter in his account of the *Golconda Diamond Mines*, is worth repeating. According to Miss Forbes story Lord Lawrence at a meeting of the Board received the jewel, put it into his pocket

pocket, went home and forgot all about it. Some weeks later he was informed that safe transport had been arranged, and for the first time since he had received it recalled the diamond. Rushing back to his house he called his old butler and asked him about it, and the old butler informed him it was quite safe. Thinking it was a piece of glass that Burra Sahib had taken a fancy to, he had kept it in the bottle *kana* with the tops of other broken glass decanter stoppers, probably the safest place imaginable. The stone was recut in Amsterdam, reducing the weight to 106½ carats. It is well known, of course, that the stone is the property of the English Royal Family.

Mir Jumla, who first acquired the Koh-i-Nur from Golconda and presented it to Shahjehan has perpetuated his name in Hyderabad by constructing a tank which is even now known after him as the Mir Jumla Tank. Tavernier gives a quaint description of Mir Jumla, whom he ranks among 'the great Omras who are exceeding rich'. He declares that Mir Jumla had twenty maunds weight of diamonds, which make 408 pounds of Holland's weight, and all this wealth he got by the plunder he formerly made in the Carnates, when he was at the head of the army of the King of Golconda, at the time when that King (in conjunction with the King of Vizianpour) made war against the King of Bisnagar (Bijapur).

Writing about the diamond mines owned by the King of Golconda Tavernier says that they pay him likewise a great revenue and all they whom he allows to dig in, those that are towards Masulipatam pay him a pagod every hour they work there whether they find any diamonds or not. His chief mines are in Carnates in divers places towards Vizianpour (Vijayanagar) and he hath six thousand men continually at work there, who daily find near three pound weight, and nobody digs there but for the King."

That the wealth of Golconda has become proverbial and well accounts for the fabulous tales, such as Sindbad the Sailor and those found in the writings of Marco Polo which reached Europe about the fourteenth century, is further testified to by another French traveller M. de Thevenot, who visited Golconda in 1667 during the reign of Abdulla Quth Shah, and thus describes a rich jewel of the King of Golconda. This Prince wears on the crown of his head a jewel almost a foot long which is said to be of an inestimable value. It is a Rose of great Diamonds three or four inches diameter, in the top of that Rose there is a little crown, out of which issues a Branch fashioned like a Palm Tree Branch, but it is round, and that Palm Branch (which is crooked at the top) is a good inch in diameter and about half a foot long. It is made up of several Sprigs, which are (as it were) the leaves of it and each of which has at their end a lovely long pearl shaped like a pear. At the foot of this Rose there are two bands of gold in fashion of Table-bracelets, in which are enchased on all sides set round with rubies, which with great pearls that hang dangling on all sides, make an exceeding rare show and these bands have clasps of diamonds to fasten with jewels to the head, in short, that King hath many other considerable pieces of great value in his treasury and it is not to be doubted, but that he surpasses all the kings of the Indies in precious stones, and that if there were merchants, who would give him their worth he would have prodigious sums of money. This account of the Golconda king's treasures is fully confirmed by the historical fact that the property of Abu'l-Hassan (the last King of Golconda) which fell into Aurangzeb's hands after the capture of the Fort included 8,51,000 huns 2,00,50,000 rupees besides jewellery, ornaments and plates of much value.

As Captain Munn has pointed out, the wealth of the Golconda mines does not rest on the authority of Tavernier alone though he himself claims to be their first European visitor. In 1662 William Method together with Sir Andreas Socory and Sir Adolph Thomason, travelling from the port of Masulipatam, visited the diamond mines. They describe the mines as being situated "at the foot of a great montayne not far from a great river called Christens". Captain Munn adds that all the accounts of this period clearly show that the Moghuls and their viceroys "squeezed" the mines to such an extent that many in consequence were forced to stop working. At that time the contractor paid the King 300,000 pagodas (£120,000) for the mine, all the diamonds above ten carats weight being the King's property.

Another very interesting reference to the Golconda Diamond Mines is contained

in a paper presented to the Royal Society by the Earl Marshal of England in 1677, being a report on the Bijapur and Golconda Diamond Mines, and reprinted in the Journal of the Hyderabad Geological Survey. According to Captain Munn, it was probably written by Mr Cholmney who, he says, lived for many years at Golconda, and prior to 1679 was engaged in purchasing diamonds for the East India Company the main sources of his purchasing being the mines of Golapally and Mullavale. This paper mentions twenty three names of different mines in the Golconda kingdom most of which have been identified by Dr V Ball the translator of Tavernier's *Travels in India*. The paper gives a detailed description of the location and character of the mines, as well as the different varieties of diamonds found in each of them and the methods employed in mining in those days. It also provides glimpses of the manners and customs of the people of those parts and their style of dressing.

The Earl Marshal's paper, describing the mines mentions Currure as the most famous of them all and most ancient. This Currure has been identified with the modern Vajra Karur, a village situated about twenty miles south of Guntakal, where diamonds are still found from time to time in the fields which are covered with pebbles and rock crystals. The Earl Marshal's paper relates a curious anecdote connected with Karur and its diamonds, which it describes as very well spread large stones (it yields few or none small), they have generally a bright skin, which inclines to be a pale greenish colour but within are purely white. The anecdote is worth quoting in full and is as follows.

About sixty or seventy years ago, when it (Karur) was under the Government of the Hindues, and several permitted to adventure in digging a Portugeez gentleman went thither from Goa, and having spent in mining a great sum of money to the amount of 100,000 Pagos as tis reported and converted everything he brought with him, that would fetch any money even to what wearing clothes he could spare, while the miners were at work for the last day's expense he had prepared a cup of poison resolving, if that night he found nothing to drink his last with the conclusion of his money but in the evening the workmen brought him a very fair spread stone of twenty Pagos weight. In commemoration thereof he caused a great stone to be erected in the place with an inscription engraven on it in the Hindues or the Telingana tongue to the following effect which remains to be seen to this day.

Your wife and children sell, sell what you have,
Save not your clothes may make yourself a slave
But money get, then to Currure make haste
There search the mines a prize you'll find at last

After which he immediately returned with his stone to Goa.

Thus concluded this strange expedition of the Portugeez gentleman to Vajra Karur (literally diamond Karur) where the villagers still go searching for diamonds in the pebble-covered fields after a shower of rain. Many more get rich-quick adventurers stricken like him with diamond fever most probably followed in his wake though they might not have followed the desperate counsel contained in his inscription.

Before passing on from Vajra Karur and its diamonds it may be mentioned that one of the most famous of the diamonds found at this place was the stone which came into the hands of Messrs. P. Orr and Sons, of Madras some thirty-five years ago. It was called the Gorr-do-Norr and was valued at £10,000 to £15,000. Another famous Golconda diamond which was found at Partial in the Nizam's Dominions in 1701 is the Pitt or Regent, which weighed 410 carats and was valued at £480,000. The diamond was acquired by Governor Pitt, of Madras, for £20,400, and was bought by the Duke of Orleans for £80,000 (some say £135,000). It was reduced by cutting to 136½ carats. It is said to be the property of the French Republic and to be seen at the Apollo Gallery at the Louvre.

According to Captain Munn, an attempt to open the Partial mine was made by the Hyderabad Deccan Company who had obtained the mineral rights over this area in 1890. The actual pit in which the ancient miners had worked was attacked, and the excavated alluvial was washed by modern machinery, and resulted in the extraction of 3,440 stones weighing 2,085½ carats. The project was stopped in

1894 as being unprofitable. Captain Munn remarks that the company should have attacked new ground instead of spending their money on an old working.

Yet another among the famous Golconda diamonds worth noticing here is the Nizam diamond. According to a note on this diamond by Dr Ball, the stone was about the year 1835 first noticed as a plaything with which a native child was amusing himself. No earlier history of it could be ascertained, its antecedents, therefore, resemble those of the earliest Cape diamond. Very little is known about the weight and quality of this stone. Mr Piddington, from a leaden model estimated that in the rough it weighed 277 carats. His account was from the information received from Captain Fitzgerald who was attached to the Nizam's service. A different history of it is given by Captain Burton, who says it was found buried in an earthen pipkin by a sowar at Narkola, twenty miles east of Shamsabad. It is said to have then been broken in three pieces the largest of which is supposed to weigh 375 carats but there is a great deal of mystery about this stone.

Captain Munn has remarked that there can be few places in the world to which the cry Ichabod! can be more aptly applied than to that portion of the Deccan adjacent to the Krishna River which was up to 1728 the sole source of the world's supply of diamonds. The best Indian diamonds are of unparalleled water and are immediately recognizable for this reason by an expert. They outclass any other gems yet found.

But the splendours of these diamondiferous areas may yet be revived as it is the present policy of the Nizam's Government under the enlightened guidance of our august Sovereign to revive old industries. The gold mining industry has recently been revived in this State, and it is within the bounds of possibility that the diamond mining industry will similarly be revived. Captain Munn has left behind him a map of the so-called Golconda Diamond Mines giving the exact location of old workings, and this will prove a valuable asset to future diamond prospectors in this State.

THE FUTURE OF JAPAN

WHAT HAPPENS WHEN DEFEAT IS ACCOMPLISHED?

By DR S R CHOW

(Professor of International Law National Wuhan University, member of People's Political Council)

THE future of Japan has a direct bearing upon the problem of peace in the Far East and in the world. For the past thirty years or so Japan has been an increasingly dangerous force making for war. Practically the second World War was started in the Far East by Japan through her invasion of Manchuria in 1931. In the interest of world peace and security Japan must be made incapable of committing further aggression. As one authority on the Far East well points out, unless Japan is eliminated as a potent force now there is no hope of peace in the Far East, and therefore in the rest of the world. Japan must be reduced to a state in which she cannot quickly resume the rôle she has played in the last thirty years. (Nathaniel Peffer, *Basis for Peace in the Far East*.)

There is a general consensus of opinion that Japan must be disarmed after the war, and that great changes have to be made in the territorial limits of the Japanese Empire. But to what extent and how? Here divergencies of opinion appear to be fairly wide.

The much-debated question of territorial disposition has become simpler now as a result of the agreement reached among the Big Three at the Cairo Conference.

Generally speaking the disposition of the Japanese territorial possessions is to be based upon two guiding principles (1) Stolen goods must be returned to the rightful owner (2) Japan must be deprived of her overseas strategic bases. These principles apparently underlie the Cairo Declaration which was made public on December 1, 1943 contains decisions stripping the Island Empire of four categories of its overseas territorial possessions (1) Japan shall be stripped of all the islands in the Pacific which she has seized or occupied since the beginning of the first World War in 1914 — i.e. the Pacific Mandated Islands the Carolines, Marshalls, and Marianas, which Japan seized from Germany and was allowed to hold under mandate from the League of Nations (2) All the territories Japan has stolen from the Chinese such as Manchuria Formosa and the Pescadores shall be restored to the Republic of China (3) Japan will be expelled from all other territories which she has taken by violence and greed These include the territories she has occupied in the course of the war such as Indo-China, Thailand Malaya and Burma in South East Asia the Netherlands Indies, the Philippines, and all the islands of the South Pacific (4) Korea shall become free and independent

Taken as a whole, says a well known writer these terms mean that Japan is to be expelled from the Asiatic mainland and is to lose her sea power in the Pacific (Walter Lippmann *US War Aims*)

Thus the major territorial terms to be imposed on Japan are fixed by the Allied Powers However as a measure of geographical disarmament territorial problems still remain to be considered There is the case of the Liu Chiu Islands and the Bonin Islands to the south of Japan and to the north of Japan the Kuriles constitute another problem The Liu Chiu Islands in particular require close attention These islands have great strategic value in the Pacific They form an island chain that connects Formosa with Japan Proper and effectively blocks the coast of China and protects the southern approaches to Japan Before the islands fell into the hands of Japan in the seventies of last century the Liu Chius had been an autonomous political entity tributary to the Chinese Empire for as long as 500 years since the beginning of the Ming dynasty and when the islands were annexed to Japan, the then native ruler actually sent a special envoy to appeal for help to the court of Peking (The Liu Chius were included in Japan Proper as a prefecture and renamed Okinawa A Japanese scholar made the following statements about the annexation of the Liu Chius by Japan The annexation of Liu Chiu by Japan in 1879 marks the beginning of Japan's aggression and national expansion in the Orient Prior to that time the Kingdom of Liu Chiu had maintained its national existence by pledging allegiance to both China and Japan In 1879, however Japan annexed Liu Chiu in spite of the strong opposition of China —Yoshi S. Kuno, *Japanese Expansion on the Asiatic Continent*)

The Kuriles, also form a strategic island chain which protects Japan to the north But the problem of the Kuriles is somewhat more complicated because of historical and geographical reasons When Japan obtained possession of the islands in 1875 (renamed in Japan as Chishima), it was as a result of negotiations with Russia Thus Soviet Russia might assert this historical interest as a justification for the claim to share in the decision on their disposal Also this probability is heightened by the geographically important relationship of the Kuriles as an island chain between the Japanese Hokkaido and Russian Kamchatka Anyhow in the interest of regional security, we are bound to give serious thought to the problem of a proper disposition of these strategic island chains in order to complete the geographical disarmament of Japan The Cairo Declaration may not cover specifically the disposition of these islands but, on the other hand it can by no means be construed as precluding any further curtailment of Japanese territorial dimensions for reasons of general security

In connection with the problem of territorial settlement, particularly in the case of Manchuria and Formosa special provisions will need to be made for the problem created by the large numbers of Japanese resident there. Since their continued residence as a large alien colony in the Chinese territory will very likely lead to friction or conflict with the Chinese community which naturally holds a bitter memory of invasion and conquest, it might be necessary to give serious consideration to a policy of wholesale repatriation conducted under the supervision of an international agency

or authority. The same need for Japanese repatriation may also exist in Korea after her liberation from Japan's yoke. (In *The Statesman's Year Book*, 1941 the numbers of Japanese resident in Formosa are given as 299,280, and in Korea 633,320, as of 1937. The Japanese resident in Manchuria must have greatly increased since 1937. A recent estimate is over 500,000.)

COMPLETE DISARMAMENT

When it comes to considering disarmament in the proper sense we are facing a more complex problem. There is no disagreement on the principle of disarming Japan since the Atlantic Charter has already decided upon the disarmament of the aggressor nations. Nor will there be much difficulty in the liquidation of the Japanese fleet and army, once the war is ended with Japan's unconditional surrender. The difficult question is how to make such disarmament complete and permanent so that Japan will thereby be rendered incapable for a considerable time to come—at least for a period of twenty to thirty years—of committing further aggression or preparing for another war on a large scale.

To be effective the measure of disarmament in the above sense would necessarily have to be carried out with the help of or through the instrumentality of an occupation force and a control commission on the spot. On this point, opinions diverge among experts on the Far East. Some would deem it impossible as well as unnecessary to keep Japan permanently disarmed by maintaining long term discriminatory armament controls against Japan. For the victorious powers would soon get tired of enforcing them, and prolonged military occupation of Japan seems to them almost impossible. Moreover a defeated Japan with her colonies and her navy presumably lost would be unable to rearm without the knowledge and in fact the collusion, on the part of other Powers, and therefore she would not for a considerable time to come be in a position to endanger peace in the Far East. An extreme view along these lines is held by an authority on the Far East, who stresses particularly the warlike character of the Japanese and the difficulty and human cost involved in occupying Japan. He would brush aside all such ideas as prolonged military occupation, complete disarmament and production control in Japan as fantastic and unnecessary. (Nathaniel Peffer, "Occupy Japan?" *Harper's Magazine*, April, 1944.)

However, it seems to me, the writers who hold such a view are either guilty of complacency in neglecting to safeguard against the recurrence of Japan's aggressive power or of defeatism in confessing the impossibility of preventing Japan from disarmament. As I pointed out previously in my book (*Winning the Peace in the Pacific*) Western experts must not underestimate the potentiality of Japan as an aggressive military power even with her territory considerably reduced after her crushing defeat. Being a highly industrialized country of over 70,000,000 exceedingly patriotic and virile people who would most likely be imbued with a frenzy of vengeance, Japan would not find much difficulty, in the absence of external control, in rearming herself with a view to regaining dominant power in the Far East. This view finds its support in a recent study, *The Control of Germany and Japan* by Harold Moulton and Louis Marlio, who have drawn the conclusion that even if Japan is reduced to the political status of 1895, attention must still be given to the problem of preventing a resurgence of Japanese military power at some time in the future. As a means to prevent Japan from rearming, they recommend a system of military control in the form of detection and coercion to be supplemented by certain well selected economic measures such as restriction on Japanese aviation industry, prohibition of all aircraft production and of the operation of commercial air lines, elimination of the aluminium industry and suppression of synthetic oil production in Japan.

PROLONGED MILITARY CONTROL

It is my firm belief that for both the enforcement of disarmament and the prevention of rearmament in Japan, a more or less prolonged military control, with or without prolonged occupation of the Japanese homeland would be absolutely necessary. The carrying out of such control does not seem so impossible or impracticable as observers are apt to imagine. As a matter of fact, it seems to be generally agreed

that in the final phase of the war, or even after Japan's unconditional surrender, the landing of an Allied military force, maybe a token force as some would call it, on the Japanese homeland will for many reasons be inevitable and necessary, especially for the immediate execution of the armistice terms which will involve a total and immediate disarmament of the country. The duration of such military occupation depends perhaps upon internal conditions of Japan as well as upon changed conditions or policies on the part of the victorious Allied Powers towards the defeated country. Indeed, one obvious means of preventing Japan (and Germany) from re-establishing their military power in the future is permanent military occupation. "By maintaining substantial armed forces at strategic points within these countries it would no doubt be possible to prevent the recurrence of military training programmes and the mobilization of industry for war purposes. (Moulton and Marlio, *op cit*)

The question will then centre on the functioning of the Security Council of the International Organization as proposed by the Dumbarton Oaks Conference. Under the Dumbarton Oaks plan the Security Council is empowered to determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression. Suppose an Allied military control commission or an international agency of control shall have discovered any evasion of disarmament provisions or any act of rearmament preparations and then after due warning shall have been served on the Japanese authorities without result, the matter may be immediately reported to the Security Council. If such violation of armistice or peace conditions imposed upon Japan is as it should be, considered as a threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or an act of aggression it is a case for applying coercive measures by the Security Council as prescribed in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals.

Obviously the system of military control is not to last for ever in Japan. It will not be the purpose of the United Nations to keep Japan down for ever. A period of say twenty years may be set as a reasonable time-limit to such military control. By the end of that period it may be safe to leave Japan alone in matters of national armament as envisaged in the Atlantic Charter, the Moscow Declaration, and in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. For presumably changed conditions in both the Far East and the world would by that time afford sufficient safeguard against the possible resurgence of Japan's aggressive power. In the first place, China's military power will have been built up. Second a regional order in the Pacific as well as the General International Organization for peace and security will have been well established. Third as a result of complete liquidation of Japan's military force under thorough going disarmament terms and of twenty years of subsequent strict military control against all preparations for rearming even the deep-seated Japanese militarism may not stand any great chance of revival as an effective power for aggression.

ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL CONTROL

Although the use of economic control devices in preventing Japan from rearming involves difficulties and complications certain kinds of economic control are bound to be employed as supplementary means of protection against Japanese rearmament, such as the dismantling of armament industry plants, prohibition of certain key industries, control of the importation of strategic minerals and war materials. Such economic or industrial controls might be opposed on the ground that they are by nature not only vexatious to the Japanese people but also disastrous for Japan's entire industrial structure and economic life. To that objection it may be replied that, if for the sake of enduring peace and security the United Nations have to eliminate an aggressive power in the Far East, then we cannot afford to be over-sentimental about our former enemy in the time of his defeat. When we think of the sufferings the Japanese have caused other peoples, then the maintenance of certain economic controls would not seem to be too harsh a treatment. As a matter of fact, the economic fate of the island people may not necessarily be unbearable after the war. When Japan no longer has to bear the crushing financial burden for supporting an excessive national armament, the Japanese may even be in a better position to apply their energies and resources to the economic development of their country. With a people used to hard work and thrift, and by reason of industrial

efficiency and geographical proximity to the vast continent of Asia, Japan even though deprived of a part, or even an important part, of her heavy or key industries, will most likely still remain one of the leading industrial countries in the world and will be able to compete for trade in the Far East and other areas on the basis of equal access to the trade and to the raw materials of the world.

POLITICAL CHANGES THE PROBLEM OF THE EMPEROR

For a complete disarmament of Japan as an aggressive power elimination of certain political and psychological factors is necessary. The political power of Japanese militarists must be totally destroyed once and for all. This is perhaps what Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek meant when he said to President Roosevelt at Cairo that all Japanese militarists must be wiped out and the Japanese political system purged of every vestige of aggressive elements. To that end the Allied Powers will have to help positively speed up a political transformation of Japan along democratic lines by openly supporting the liberal elements in the nation as a new political force, which will assume the responsibility of government.

In this connection the position of the Japanese Emperor has also to be considered. Here views among experts are widely divided. At one extreme an important school of thought advocates not only a forced deposition of the present Emperor Hirohito who is regarded as being personally responsible for Japanese aggression but also the abolition of the imperial house, which is regarded as a vicious force around which centres the whole idea of militarism and expansionism in Japan. A view typical of such a school of thought was recently expounded in a special article in *Foreign Affairs* magazine by Dr Sun Fo, President of the Legislative Yuan, who had previously advocated the elimination of the Emperor and the creation of a republic in Japan. In his view the Mikado must go, because the imperial idea is the essence of Japanese aggression; the Japanese militarists depend upon the Mikado for their existence, the Mikado is the very essence of Japanese expansionism. Most important of all is his frank expression of the apprehension on the part of the Chinese. China would never cease to believe that a Japan which retained the Mikado and the system of Emperor worship was dangerous to her peace and security. A more or less similar view is taken by an important American journal which asserts that aggression has roots not only in politics and trade but in the Japanese mind and institutions and the Emperor is the keystone of a dangerous edifice (*Fortune* April 1944). A well informed American writer holds the same opinion. There can never be peace in the Pacific so long as the medieval Mikado system is maintained because reactionary elements will again rally around it as they did three-quarters of a century ago. (J. B. Powell letter to the New York *Herald Tribune*, January 4, 1944.)

At the other extreme there are a number of persons who rather favour a policy of retaining the Emperor and the imperial house as a valuable institution for peace and stability in Japan. A former American Ambassador to Japan, Joseph C. Grew, suggested in a speech delivered at Chicago, December 29, 1943, that the Japanese institution of Emperor-worship might become a force for good if the Emperor were of a peace-seeking disposition and were free from domination by a military clique. This was all the more significant because Grew's statement followed the publication, among some old State Department documents, of one of his pre-Pearl Harbour dispatches wherein Hirohito was pictured as opposing the war which the militarists were forcing on his country. He was elsewhere reported as saying: 'The Emperor did not want war. Once the military clique surrounding the throne is defeated the fanatical cult of Shinto "can be an asset, not a liability" (*Time* January 10, 1944.)

Each side may be tempted to look for support to a statement made by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek in his 1944 New Year Message to the Chinese Army and people, which runs as follows: 'When President Roosevelt (at Cairo) asked my views (on the problem of Japan's form of government) I frankly replied: "It is my opinion that all Japanese militarists must be wiped out and the Japanese political system must be purged of every vestige of aggressive elements. As to what form of government Japan should adopt, that question can better be left to the awakened and repentant Japanese people to decide for themselves. I also said: "If the Japanese people should rise in revolution to punish their war-mongers and overthrow their militarist

Government we should respect their spontaneous will and allow them to choose their own form of Government. Mr Roosevelt fully approved of my idea.

Although this represents an official view concerning the future of Japan's political régime it does in no sense commit China or the Allied Powers to a definitive solution of the specific question of what to do with the Emperor and the Imperial House. Only one thing is thereby made clear. If the Japanese choose to get rid of the Emperor and change the form of government and continue to support Hirohito as their Emperor in a liberal political régime what should the victorious Allies do about it? The question is still open.

It seems to me that in effect undue importance is being given the problem of the Japanese Emperor whose future depends much upon the internal developments of Japan. As far as the question of the treatment of the present Emperor Hirohito is concerned, decision may be better deferred, if it is possible, until the facts of war responsibility and war crimes shall have been made clear through due process of investigation by a judicial commission.

From one point of view the Japanese Emperor never played a vital rôle in domestic politics. He remains always the symbol of national unity in whatever circumstances and constitutes as such the chief stabilizing factor in Japan's political life. To look at the matter from a different angle it may not be far-fetched to say that if the Emperor exerts a vital influence on Japanese internal politics, then the removal or abolition of the Emperor and consequently the removal of such a vital influence from Japanese politics, may have an indirect effect on international affairs, for Japan's power to embark upon external aggression is likely to be reduced or paralysed once her internal régime becomes unstable.

Anyway, the victorious Allied Powers are bound no matter what will become the fate of the Emperor, to exert at least in the transitional period a decisive influence upon political changes in Japan in the direction of liberalism. If the Allied Powers in Europe now have as the British Government contends a legal right to pass on any Italian Government, obviously a similar right should be enjoyed by the Allied Powers over a defeated Japan. Such right is of course to be exercised in the interest of democracy and peace.

In this connection it may well be observed that chauvinism and warlike tradition as well as the fanatic desire for expansion and conquest are deep-seated in the whole Japanese nation. Even a complete removal of the large warlords and big capitalists (the so-called *Zaibatsu* in Japan) from political power altogether—a thing which is not likely failing a great social upheaval in Japan—would not in itself bring about the psychological change of the sort desired in the Japanese people.

BRITISH YOUTH AND INDIA'S PROBLEMS

BY SIR FRANK BROWN CIE

At the week-end beginning on Friday, April 20, the *Soke* of Peterborough County Council and the Corporation of the ancient city held the first fully organized and non-party Youth Conference on India to take place in the British Isles. The distinction of being first in this field is the greater since the *Soke* is an area the smallest County Council unit, and is the only one in respect of which the Education Minister has exercised his power to create a Joint Educational Authority to include the city, with effect from April 1 when Mr Butler's great Act came into force. The *Soke* has set a fine example to educational authorities over larger areas by the holding of three such gatherings. Last year a Youth Conference on the British Commonwealth was followed by one on the U.S.A.

On the basis of this experience Mr Leslie Tant, the energetic Director of Education, and Mrs A. H. Mellows, chairman of the local Youth Committee, had thoughts

of Russia as providing the next suitable theme. But the elected delegates of youth clubs, pre-service training corps and other organizations, representing young people between the ages of fifteen and twenty, had views of their own. By a large majority the 320 delegates decided to take up the complex subject of India. This choice may be regarded as evidence to the contrary of the old taunt (lately repeated in the House of Lords) that India is very much overlooked and forgotten in the public mind. Most valuable assistance in organization was given by Mrs L. K. Scott, of the English Speaking Union.

On the Friday evening the Mayor of Peterborough, Councillor A. J. Farrow, welcomed the delegates and visitors, and on the following day the five commissions into which the Conference was divided got to work. Matters were so planned that each commission either then or on the following morning heard and questioned each of the team of speakers. The subject of *How India is Governed* was in the hands of Mr H. S. L. Polak and Sir Gordon Neale (the latter as being fully conversant with life and polity in the Indian States). India's War Effort was expounded by Lieut.-Colonel J. D. Boyle, lately Instructor in the Jungle Training Division in India. Dr S. C. Sen, son of the distinguished historian of Bengali literature fitly spoke on Education and Culture. Dr S. R. Chakravarti, an authority on industrial medicine dealt with Health and Social Problems while Mr A. K. Pillai was always brief and clear in answering questions on Agriculture and Industry. For the purpose of addresses at full meetings the Conference secured the services of two distinguished men fresh from India—Sir Torick Ameer Ali, late Judge of the Calcutta High Court, and Sir Frederick James, M.L.A. New Delhi.

How enlightening and thought provoking the contacts of the delegates with these authorities had been was shown by the Brains Trust on Sunday morning, with Mr A. H. Joyce as the apt question master. The questions showed the deep concern of the young delegates respecting the social and economic handicaps under which the Indian masses suffer especially in the far-spreading rural areas. This concern was further voiced at the great mass meeting at the Embassy Theatre on Sunday night in a report given by Mr Faithfull Davies, the Organizing Secretary for Senior Boys Training under the National Association of Boys Clubs. He said that the delegates could not regard these ancient evils as irremovable. Surely in these days of vast schemes of post war planning among the Allied Nations the time had passed for talking of such problems as insoluble. The present generation of British youth he said had a deep sense of justice and a clear recognition of individual responsibility.

In the inspiring speech from the Dowager Lady Reading which followed emphasis was rightly placed on the importance of interpreting such generous sentiments in terms of service. She said that the aim of the Conference was for youth to learn more that it might serve better. The gifted leader of the W.V.S. reporting on her recent short visit to India after an absence of eighteen years, struck the encouraging note that, slowly as Indian poverty and disease seem to be countered, things have moved and are moving in the right direction. Similar testimony was borne by Sir Frederick James, and also in the light of thirty years' knowledge of Indian life, by the Bishop of St. Albans, formerly Bishop of Nasik, in his address at the Cathedral on Sunday afternoon.

For this act of worship the pre-service training corps in and around the city, lads and maidens paraded in full strength to the strains of martial music, and filled almost the entire nave. The townspeople turned out in large numbers to see the procession in which their sons and daughters marched. With the mass meeting in the evening this brought the ordinary citizen into contact with the great theme of India. Throughout there was a remarkable absence of vehement partisanship. India's claim to self-government was steadily supported. The present position in respect thereto was summed up at the mass meeting in a statesmanlike utterance by Lord Listowel, then Under-Secretary for India and Burma.

The Conference was remarkably successful in the object stated, which was to put some of the salient facts about India clearly and objectively before a section of British youth to indicate the sources from which they can obtain further information, and to encourage them to prepare themselves for their future responsibilities as citizens.

Mr Tait reports that at the "follow up" meeting a week later the delegates said that they were incapable in their immaturity of making any suggestion for the solution of the problems of India. He regards this as the most encouraging sign of the seriousness they brought to the study of India.

DEFENCE AND NATIONAL EFFICIENCY

By K. M. PANNIKAR

THIS sixth year of the war sees the Indian Army expanded to continental proportions. Over two million men are known to be under arms, and this enormous army the biggest ever raised in India has been created on the basis of voluntary recruitment. Making every allowance for the low standard of general efficiency and the poor physical quality of the vast masses, it will still be conceded that only the fringe of India's man-power has been touched and with an intensification of effort, it will be possible to raise even a much larger army, if required.

The question however is does the future defence of India require armies of this enormous size? Do the lessons of the present war and the trends which we can visualize justify the training and upkeep of armies whose numbers run into millions? The quantitative valuation of armies at the present time when all warfare has to be on the qualitative basis of technical efficiency, and of complicated equipment, requiring intensive training, would seem to have become obsolete. The numerical strength of an army has to be carefully gauged and determined in terms of the nation's requirements, and not in terms of the nation's man-power potential.

The changed conditions of India's defence require no detailed analysis. The pre-war organization of the Indian Army does not seem to have taken into consideration the possibility of large-scale operations against any first-class land power. Given the conditions that existed before the war such a preparation was perhaps unnecessary. The North West Frontier and smaller countries which touched it created no major problems of defence. The great industrial strength and unrivalled national efficiency of England were at all times behind the Indian Army and the absolute control of the seas that Britain enjoyed ensured an uninterrupted flow of officers and material. These conditions have materially changed. The seats of dynamic political power have come much nearer to India's frontiers. The problem of the mastery of the sea has been complicated by the growth of air power and the facile assumption of the nineteenth century that communications between England and India have been permanently safeguarded by the mastery of the Mediterranean and overwhelming sea-power in the Atlantic can no longer be maintained. In fact the defence of India has to be conceived in terms of a campaign both in Europe and Asia in which case apart from the Navy being fully occupied in European waters, the air power and geographical position of continental nations may at least for a time breach the life line between India and England. It follows automatically that all calculations in respect of a major war for the defence of India must be based on the mainland of India itself.

Has India the resources for undertaking that defence? Man-power and space power she has. She has a very large and comparatively intelligent population. In area she is next only to Russia, China and the U.S.A. She has the possibility of developing the industrial power necessary for modern warfare. In short, she has in abundance the raw material of defence. But man-power without national efficiency and space without organization and industrial possibilities without their actual development give no strength to a nation. They are merely the materials out of which defence can be organized.

Space power and materials of production are God's gifts to a nation. A nation may have attained a high pitch of efficiency and may have a relatively great indus-

trial strength like Belgium, but may not be able to organize its defence in the absence of space-power. It may have space-power and considerable national efficiency, but may not have the essential requirements of industrial strength—e.g., Italy with no coal and but few essential minerals. Again, all the natural conditions may be favourable but, if national efficiency is low, effective defence is impossible. The case of China is one in point. It has enormous space and man-power and the potentialities of great industrial strength. But, since national efficiency is lacking, her defence is a major problem for her Allies.

The problem of India is similar. The essential question which those who are concerned with the defence of India have to face is the raising of the general standard of national efficiency. India can produce soldiers, but, if she is to have adequate resources for defence she must not only have the industrial potential necessary to back up her army but a people capable of thinking and acting in modern terms. Warfare today is not merely the conduct of military operations in the field, though it is and will continue to be the most important factor. Successful warfare, both offensive and defensive, includes numerous non-military factors, economic, psychological, moral, political and technological. The economic factors are well understood. The psychological and moral factors which constitute the unbreakable will of the nation of which the most outstanding example in history was that of Britain in 1940-41, are now being recognized in their proper perspective as essential in modern warfare. Methods of propaganda, as well as forms of air attack, have made the morale of civil population especially vulnerable in modern times. The attacks through the ether and the air can only be resisted by a population having a steady national purpose strengthened by unflinching civil leadership and by adequate preparation for purposes of moral defence. This again works back to the question of national efficiency.

Assuming that adequate armed forces of all kinds exist in India and their supply is assured, still the question of Indian defence in a modern war will not be solved unless (a) the civil population is integrated in some form with the navy, (b) the standard of efficiency is raised on a much wider basis and (c) a national purpose is generated and strengthened among at least the educated classes. The integration of civil population with defence is the essence of modern total warfare. The preparation for this is the unavoidable prerequisite of national defence. A classical example of this is what Russia did in the period before the war. The *Osoaviakhim* was the organization which Stalin created in 1927 as a connecting link between the Red Army and the people. Originally it consisted of two organizations, *Oso* (for defence) and *Aviakhim* (for aviation and chemistry). After the two were merged it was entrusted with the task of interesting the civil population in matters of defence. In 1931 it had a membership of eleven millions, and the members were not only kept informed of general technical developments but given instruction in military aviation, meteorology, guiding, parachuting, and numerous other subjects directly connected with defence. What helped Russia in her magnificent feat of national defence in 1942 and 1943 was this preparation of the civil population and the high standard of efficiency reached by them. Though British methods are less spectacular they are no less effective.

An organization like the *Osoaviakhim* postulates widespread literacy and a higher standard of general efficiency. That is why the question of education becomes essentially a defence problem in India. In the period before 1939 it was perhaps possible to argue that an inert mass of population helped to maintain the military hold on India and, as the external problem seemed unimportant, national education had no concern with the Army. Today the position is fundamentally different. Recent developments have placed India near enough to Great Powers to make the problem of external defence important not only for Britain but *vital for India and Britain*. The preparation of the Indian people for such a contingency becomes, therefore, the essence of the problem. As a result national education has become a matter of immediate concern to the Army and defence forces.

I have purposely used the word *national* education, because, apart from increasing efficiency, unless Indian education seeks to create in the youth a *national purpose and a sense of unity* which will stand the strain of modern warfare, its object will not be fully served. A perception of this fundamental idea at the time of the Japanese

crisis led to the establishment of the National War Front. But for the success of such an idea, the political factor, which makes defence a national interest, was necessary and in the present circumstances of India that could not be wholly ensured. If we postulate a political settlement in India, defence automatically becomes the primary national consideration. The present unreal attitude of nationalist thought towards defence is not only bound to be replaced by a sounder appreciation of facts, but perhaps lead to a national Government and the other extreme of Chauvinism. The satisfaction of national claims will therefore, only give increased emphasis to the requirements of defence and is necessary in any case if a national purpose and a sense of national unity are to be the moral inspiration of defence.

The present war has altered the character of Indian defence. In the first place, it has extended the geography of defence so far as India is concerned. The outer rim on which India's security was based—the Ring Fence system—inherited from the Company must now with the increasing range of modern weapons, extend beyond the buffer States of Curzon. Secondly the preponderating importance of air supremacy has given to the great land-mass of India a strategic significance which no one can fail to appreciate. India is ideally situated for the air control of her rim area. But air control is not merely a question of having large aerodromes and a powerful air force. It is a question of continuous scientific research into aeronautics, production capacity of industries, large reservoir of technical personnel and above all a continuous supply of trained officers and men. The experience of the present war has shown that air superiority over a long period can only be maintained by a State which has at its disposal the best research minds (for the evolution of better types, for counteracting the enemy's new devices, etc.) the greater production capacity depending on a stable industrial structure, and an unceasing flow of vigorous young men with a high standard of technical ability. In fact air superiority can only be the reflection of superior national organization and efficiency. To a large extent it is the same with all forms of technical warfare but the obvious preponderance of the air arm in future warfare and its demands on the nation raise these to the level of fundamental considerations.

The question of national education meant to raise physical and efficiency standards becomes therefore an emergent question for those interested in defence. Civilian authorities may think of long-period policies but the call of security cannot await the gradual realization of ideal plans. Within the course of the next ten years large-scale results will have to be obtained if the new Army and defence forces which after the war we shall be raising in India are to have the necessary national background. The questions relating to the encouragement of scientific research and industrial development are already under consideration. But the general standard of education which is no less important cannot be left to be worked out on a forty year basis. It is essential in the interests of security to have a short-term programme meant to raise the efficiency of large classes of young men. Thus to my mind, is the crux of the problem of defence.

How is this to be done? Three parallel methods could be suggested. First, to begin with the masses, a definite programme of mass education through the demobilized soldiers should be taken up immediately. The large volunteer Army that has been recruited in India is drawn from all parts, and the men with five years of training in the Army meant to raise their standards all round constitute an ideal body through which mass education can be undertaken. A short pre-demobilization course for selected young men in the different aspects of national welfare will give them the training and the impetus necessary for this work. Their activities will be spread all over India, and, with effective guidance, they could be made the backbone of national regeneration.

Secondly in the high schools organizations like Youth Movements with a definite bias, military formations, uniforms, etc., should be encouraged. The idea should be to make young men disciplined. The present Scout Movement should be reorganized and put definitely on the basis of a pre-military training of youth. The difficulty of the Scout Movement in India is that it is vaguely romantic, humanitarian, and not quite serious. Reorganized, it should be the basis for the Officer Training Institutions and University Training Corps, which should be attached to every college.

Thurdly, an effort should be made to interest the students of the University to take interest in both Officer Training Corps and semi-military organizations. Aviation clubs, automobile clubs, etc., should be attached to Universities and students should be encouraged to join them.

Thus from the lowest to the highest courses of education there should be a regular interest created in the problems of defence. Such a programme, if steadily pursued during a period of ten or fifteen years, will create the necessary psychological and moral background on which the future defence of India can be based. It will also create a much wider field of technical efficiency upon which defence services could draw in times of need. And without such a programme the mere increase in the numbers, equipment and training of the army or the perfecting of the military machine will not solve India's problem of defence.

SIR CHARLES BELL AND TIBET

By ONE OF HIS COLLEAGUES

THE death of Sir Charles Bell at the age of seventy four has closed a life of notable achievement within a defined sphere. The entry in *Who's Who* Recreations Long Travels and Short Walks is typical of the man. Never of robust health he is known to the world as the chief modern authority on Tibet and on Colloquial Tibetan. Never a ready writer he was the author of books on the language, history, people, and religion of Tibet which have passed through more than one edition and it was only very shortly before his death that he is understood to have finished a Life of his great friend, the Thirteenth Dalai Lama in order to complete which he had withdrawn to British Columbia soon after the beginning of the present war. It was largely in order to make doubly sure of his facts and to obtain a better perspective that long after his retirement from the Indian Civil Service and the Political Department, at the age of sixty four he revisited Tibet and travelled in Mongolia and Manchuria. He had in him much of the make up of Browning's *Gramscian*. Those who have followed him in his sphere may well consider him worthy of the epitaph. This is our master, famous, calm and dead.

Death has of late removed many of those who were best qualified to judge of the man and his work—Younghusband the strong but gentle, who left behind him in Lhasa no bitter memories—O Connor, known in Tibet as the Kusho Sahib and in East Persia by a nickname which meant Sahib of Sahibs—Aurel Stein of Central Asia who died so soon after he had at length reached what he had always regarded as a Promised Land, Teichman who brought about reconciliation of rival claims in Tibet's eastern borderland Denison Ross, one of whose early enthusiasms was for the Tibetan language and whose constructive criticism and encouragement all interested in the study of language could confidently expect—Van Manen, an enthusiast for everything old or new, which had a bearing on Tibetan history, art, religion, or language.

From Winchester, where he was a scholar, and New College, Oxford, Bell entered the Indian Civil Service in 1891 and was posted to Bengal with which were then associated Bihar and Orissa. Avoiding the attractions, or evading the notice, of the Secretariat, for some twelve years he did sound executive and judicial work in various districts and towards the end of this period he conducted the first revenue settlement of the Kalimpong sub-division of the Darjeeling district. Here he came in contact with the peoples of Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet. In 1905 he published a *Manual of Colloquial Tibetan* which, expanded fifteen years later into a grammar and a dictionary, and, recently republished, has been of the greatest value to all who have since attempted to learn to speak Tibetan. With the discrimination of a scholar, and

with the simplicity of aim which was typical of him, he did not attempt, as he says in the introduction, to deal with the written language, which differs widely from the colloquial and is useless for conversational purposes. In particular, he did much to develop a simple system of phonetic renderings in which the symbols used in addition to the twenty six letters of the English alphabet are reduced to a minimum.

The first officer to work in Sikkim and to visit Bhutan as a whole-time Political Officer serving directly under the Government of India, and as a friend and intimate counsellor was Claude White. In his twenty years tenure of the post of Political Officer in Sikkim Claude White, originally an officer of the Public Works Department, did much by simple methods to raise Sikkim to the useful and the good and gradually to accustom its people to the ways of the modern world. Bell proved to be an ideal successor. In Sikkim the principle which emerges in all his work is gradual development along natural lines. He found in existence a land revenue system under which the country was partitioned between a number of landlords. Developing White's work he encouraged the Durbar to guard the position and rights of the landlords, but at the same time to limit them, and so to develop a fair and reasonable Zemindari system. His main aim in which he was eminently successful was to foster the gradual emergence of the Durbar to a position of full responsibility for the conduct of the affairs of the State.

In Bhutan displaying the same grasp of essentials he negotiated a treaty whereby, the Tongsa Penlop having been acknowledged as the supreme ruler His Majesty's Government became responsible for the country's foreign relations, but undertook to abstain from any form of interference in internal matters.

As regards Tibet, the occasion found the right man in the right place when in February, 1910 the Thirteenth Dalai Lama apprehensive of Chinese pressure in Lhasa, fled to India. During the more than two years which His Holiness spent at Darjeeling as the guest of the Government of India and latterly at Kalimpong in the house of Raja Ugyen Dorji of Bhutan, Bell taking things slowly established a closeness of touch with the Dalai Lama which was founded on a real kinship of mind and spirit. Both men of deep religious conviction and wide outlook, they were both also men of the world.

The Chinese revolution resulted in the withdrawal of Chinese officials and troops from Tibet, and in the summer of 1912 the Dalai Lama returned to Tibet.

Main principles which Bell kept always in mind were the right of Tibet to determine its own political, religious and economic future, the need of maintaining and promoting direct contact between the Government of Tibet and His Majesty's Government and the Government of India and the necessity of bringing about cordial relations on a stable basis between China and Tibet. It was natural therefore that when in 1913 Sir Henry McMahon, Mr Ivan Chen for China and Lonchen Shatra for Tibet assembled at Simla to discuss the terms of a settlement Bell should be chosen by Sir Henry McMahon as his Chief Adviser on Tibetan affairs.

On April 27 1914 the three plenipotentiaries initialled a Convention whereby the autonomy of Outer Tibet (viewed as Outer from the Chinese point of view and extending to the upper waters of the Dicu or Yangtse) was to be recognized, the position in Inner Tibet, which was to include Derge Nyarong Litang, and Batang was to be left indefinite the Indo-Tibetan frontier was determined as running eastwards from Bhutan along the main range of the Eastern Himalayas, thence to a little south of Rima, and thence in the north of Burma, to the Izu Razi Pass some sixty miles E.N.E. of Fort Hertz and twenty-five miles west of the Salween, Chinese suzerainty over the whole of Tibet was to be recognized China however, engaging not to convert Tibet into a Chinese Province and to limit to 300 men the military escort of the Chinese Amban who was to be re-established at Lhasa and Great Britain, engaging not to annex any portion of Tibet was entitled to continue to maintain trade agencies, with escorts limited to three fourths of the Chinese escort at Lhasa, the British Trade Agent at Gyantse having the right when necessary to visit Lhasa with his escort. Trade Regulations annexed to the Convention provided for various matters affecting the right of British subjects to trade, and for the maintenance of telegraph lines between the Indian frontier and the Mart.

Two days after the initialling of the Convention the Chinese Government dis-

avowed the action of its representative and refused to permit him to proceed to full signature. On June 6 the British minister at Peking informed the Chinese Government that Great Britain and Tibet regarded the Convention as concluded by the act of initialling, and that in default of China's adherence they would sign it independently.

The negotiations had broken down on one point only—namely, the frontier to be established between China and Tibet. This was stated explicitly by the Chinese Government (The portions above in inverted commas are taken from Bell's *Tibet Past and Present*, page 156.)

On July 3, 1914, the British and Tibetan Plenipotentiaries sealed the following declaration, which bears also the seals of the Dalai Lama, of the Drepung, Sera and Gaden Monasteries and of the National Assembly of Tibet.

We, the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and Tibet, hereby record the following declaration to the effect that we acknowledge the annexed Convention as initialled to be binding on the Governments of Great Britain and Tibet, and we agree that so long as the Government of China withholds signature to the aforesaid Convention she will be debarred from the enjoyment of all privileges accruing therefrom.

In 1920 by invitation of the Dalai Lama Bell conducted a mission to Lhasa, where he remained eleven months. It was during this visit that, not without the exercise of much tact, he obtained permission for the first Mount Everest Expedition. In Bell the habitual courtesy and reasonableness of Tibetans, and of the Dalai Lama in particular, found their equal. Bell has recorded somewhere that he could not remember the Dalai Lama ever having refused him anything for which he asked but that on the other hand he could not recall having asked for anything which His Holiness might be reluctant to grant. Of the great power of the priesthood in Tibet Bell wrote understandingly. Any nation having dealings with Tibet must watch the priests and watch them carefully. We should remember what the Tibetan priesthood stands to lose in modern conditions. The advance of Western thought undermines the foundations of their temples and creeds.

It is fitting that of late many of those in Lhasa who remember him and have seen something of his books have expressed the hope that his books will be produced in Tibetan. Great interest attaches to the prospective publication of his *Life of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama* to the completion of which he devoted the later period of his life.

SOME BRITISHERS WHO BECAME FAMOUS IN TURKEY

BROADCAST FROM ANKARA

By H B FRENCH

(Member of the British Council staff in Ankara)

THE various broadcasts in this series must have shown how very different is modern Turkey from the romantic land of the Sultans which used to fire our imagination. The more dynamic modern Turkey has broken the shackles of the past without forgetting its long proud history. Now here are some brief notes on Britishers who knew, and were known in the old Turkey.

The first is Sir Edward Barton, the second Ambassador to Turkey, born about 1562. He became secretary to William Harbourn, the British Ambassador at Constantinople in 1584 and in 1590 succeeded him as Ambassador at about the age of twenty-eight. His chief concern was to protect the interests of the Turkey Company established in 1579. Although he bore the title of Agent for Her Majesty with the Grand Seigneur and received a payment of T L 500 from the Exchequer in 1590 the Company was as a rule responsible for his salary, and seems to have failed to remit it regularly. In 1591 Lord Burghley addressed a series of questions to the officials of the Turkey Company as to what entertainment had been made to Mr Barton in certainty and whether he had been allowed the 4 per cent promised. What allowance he has had from the beginning of his services, when he has had any and what it was for as he complained of great want and unkind answers, and that Collins and Salter the Consul and Vice-Consul at Tripoli deny him relief. In 1594 Barton received 2,000 gold chequins equivalent to T L 600 for the Queen's special service in Constantinople and early in 1596 he received a formal Commission as Ambassador twenty-eight. His chief concern was to protect the interests of the Turkey Company. Barton was very popular among the Turks and actually fought under their flag. Mustafa, the first Turkish Envoy in England told at Court in 1607 how, many years previously, Mr Barton was in the Army when Raab alias Suverin was won from the Christians. The Sultan Mohammed III when informing Queen Elizabeth of the taking of the Fort Agria in Hungary from the Forces of the Archduke Maximilian in 1595, wrote: As to your Highness's well-beloved Ambassador at our blessed Porte Edward Barton one in the Nation of the Messiah, he having been enjoined by us to follow our Imperial campaign without having been enabled previously to obtain your Highness's permission to go with my Imperial Staff has well equipped himself of his duties in the campaign. So that we have reason to be satisfied to hope that also your Highness will know how to appreciate the services he has thus rendered to us in our Imperial campaign. Soon after Barton's return the plague broke out in Constantinople, and in 1597 he took refuge on the small island of Halke on the Sea of Marmora where he fell a victim to the scourge, and died on December 15 1597. He was buried there outside the principal door of the church attached to the Convent of the Virgin.

The second on my list is Lady Mary Wortley Montague who was born in 1689, the eldest daughter of Evelyn Pierrepont, afterwards Duke of Kingston. She was famed for her wit and beauty. When eight years old she was the toast of the famous Kit Kat Club. She married Edward Wortley Montague, Member of Parliament for Westminster, in 1715.

In London her charm and ready repartee soon brought her into prominence as a hostess, and she became a well-known figure at Court. In 1716 her husband was appointed Ambassador in Constantinople, whither she accompanied him. They remained in Constantinople until 1718. Her observations, at this time, on Eastern life, were told in a series of lively letters full of graphic description which make extremely entertaining reading. She writes that one of the highest entertainments in Turkey at that time was going to the ladies' baths. When she was introduced to one, the lady of the house came to undress her—a very high compliment. After her gown

had been slipped off and the lady saw her stays, she fell back with amazement and called for all the other ladies to come hither and see how cruelly the poor English ladies were used by their husbands—they locked them up in a box! Lady Montague frequently wore Turkish dress, she remarks that the first piece of her costume was a pair of drawers, very full, which reached to her toes—more modest than a petticoat! She observes it was remarkable to see a woman that was not handsome, and that they had the best complexions in the world, with large black eyes and wonderful heads of hair—she actually counted 110 tresses on one lady reaching nearly to the feet.

From Turkey she brought back the practice of smallpox inoculation or ingrafting as the invention was called. There were a set of old women who made it their business to perform the operation every autumn when the great heat abated. They made parties—smallpox, not cocktail, parties—then one of the old women came with a nut shell full of the best sort of smallpox and asked which vein you d like opened then with a large needle she ripped it open and put in as much venom as could lie on the head of her needle. Four or five veins were opened and bound up with a hollow piece of shell. Later she had her own children done in England, encountering a vast amount of prejudice and opposition by introducing these methods. On one occasion she was invited to dine with the Grand Vizier's lady, an entertainment to which no Christian had ever been invited. She went dressed in the Court habit of Vienna, attended by her train-bearer and her Greek lady interpreter. She was met at the Court door by a black eunuch, and conducted to the Sultana. At dinner there were a vast number of dishes, the roasts being very much done, the sauces very high, and soup being served for the last course. Dinner ended with coffee and then two slaves perfumed her—a high mark of respect.

Writing of the Turkish law of that time she remarks that it was better designed and executed than ours, particularly the punishment of convicted hars, who were burnt on the forehead with a hot iron when proved guilty.

Before starting for the East, Lady Mary made the acquaintance of Alexander Pope, the celebrated poet who, during her absence from England addressed her a series of extravagant letters which appear to have been chiefly exercises in the art of writing gallant epistles. Later they quarrelled violently. The suggested cause is to be found in the last of the letters written during the Embassy to Constantinople. Others say that Pope made a declaration of love which she received with hoots of laughter!

She died on August 21 1762, aged 73.

THE WORKS OF MAURICE COLLIS

BARBARA WHITTINGHAM JONES

It is only of comparatively recent years that the East has begun to figure in literature of the top rank. Stevenson led the way with his stories of the South Seas. The sea faring tales of Conrad are mostly set in those Eastern waters lying between China and Australia with occasional trips ashore to islands or seaports of the Dutch East Indies. Documentary pictures of European life in Malaya and Indonesia during the inter war period were drawn by the sophisticated pen of Somerset Maugham. Vicki Baum probed deeper and portrayed the native life of the Archipelago with a sure and brilliant hand. The latest explorer in this field, Maurice Collis has created yet a new *genre* with his gorgeous procession of historic dramas set in the vanished courts of Farther Asia.

Like T. L. Peacock, with whom he has a marked affinity Collis came to the profession of literature from the Indian Civil Service. Twenty years of official life in Burma would equip any writer with a wealth of rare and enviable material. But of the many civilians who have had that opportunity, Collis is the first who has tried

on any scale to transmute the real Burmese Burma into modern English literature. Much of his own particular quality he owes to this official experience. From the practice of the courts he acquired powers of penetration and analysis, from the habit of framing judgments he developed a clarity of exposition which resulted in the ability to tell a complicated story with the beguiling simplicity which is the essence of his style. As an administrator he had daily and many-sided contacts with Burmese of all ranks and types which afforded opportunities for observation of their emotional and mental processes under all the varied circumstances of ordinary life. In too many cases the effect of all this is to turn men into sun-dried bureaucrats. But with Collis it was different. Of Irish Protestant stock he had the quick sympathies of his native land added to a strong if latent, artistic instinct. In Burma he thus became a highly sensitive observer, and his pages shimmer with the lights, sounds, scents and spirit of that elusive Oriental scene. And as a result Burma seems to pour out of his very pores.

It may be thought that Collis differs too fundamentally from the company in which I have placed him to belong to their category. They paint the contemporary while he paints the past scene; they deal in fiction, he in the solid facts of history. All four of his most substantial works—*Siamese White*, *She was a Queen*, *The Land of the Great Image* and *The Motherly and Auspicious*—are based upon contemporary documents resurrected from forgotten archives. But to the general reader each story brings a fresh slice of Asia so forcefully alive that in spite of the historical approach his claim to a place in that gallery is strong. For Collis is no conventional historian. Unlike the latter, who select a period, he selects an episode. Each episode is a personal drama having rulers with their rival and opponents as the chief players. As in those days the fate of its head not infrequently determined the destiny of a dynasty or a state, Collis takes us into exhilarating air. In *The Land of the Great Image* the scene is laid in the seventeenth-century palace-city of Mrauk U, capital of the then independent kingdom of Arakan, where a Buddhist monarch afflicted with a paranoid ambition to become master of the world succumbs to the temptations of a local alchemist to participate in malpractices so monstrous as the compounding of a grabd elixir made from six thousand human hearts. In *Siamese White* his first and perhaps best known work, he relates the career of a Bristol merchant who about a generation later became a mandarin of the King of Siam and the most formidable pirate in the Bay of Bengal. *She was a Queen* is the half-legendary story of the invasion of Burma by Kublai Khan and the consequent fall of the Pagan dynasty in the thirteenth century. In *The Motherly and Auspicious* his most ambitious work he turned to China for a theme and for the first time to drama as a form. The stage here becomes the innermost chambers of the Forbidden City at Peking in the reign of the Empress Dowager, the supreme example of those formidable adventuresses who are commoner in the history of Asia than is generally supposed.

Collis's major works have all the sweep and surge of grand opera. The size of caste, the brilliant pageantry, the vast panorama and the majestic themes are redolent of Drury Lane. His pages are peopled with kings and queens, royal concubines and imperial eunuchs, merchant traders and chief ministers, pirates and slavers, white elephants, diplomats, priests and nautch girls. Political intrigue at the highest level is conducted against a background of palaces and pagodas, Buddhist monasteries, European forts and factories, blue waters, tropic jungles, rice fields, palm trees and brightly dressed cosmopolitan crowds where mingle Burmese, Siamese, Chinese, Indian, Malay and European. Oriental despotism stalks the stage with a depth of cruelty, passion and megalomaniac lust that is unmatched by anything I know in melodrama. From the wings sound reverberations of the first impact between East and West.

Collis is no crusader. There is hardly a hint of the tumultuous problems which beset Burma and her neighbours today. The only exception is his *Trials in Burma*, an autobiographical account of the judicial controversies of 1929-30 in which, as then District Magistrate of Rangoon, he played the central rôle. This, however, is being republished this year with a new introduction, bringing the political issues up to date. In *Lords of the Sunset*, a travelogue of the Shan States, he ends on a tentative prediction that, rather than bow for the first time in their history to the authority of a

Burmese Government, the Shans will ultimately elect for some form of autonomy under the Crown. Otherwise his views are only to be read by implication. For Collis is primarily concerned with the comedy of history. He would have got on admirably with Horace Walpole. The vein of urbane irony which informs all his work gives it a quality of highborn detachment. One feels that the joke is rather between cronies. Despite the studied dignity of his prose, there is always the confidential tone of a man of affairs relaxing in his armchair at the club. At the same time there is an Augustan air about his style which while helping to create the period atmosphere without having recourse to the period idiom, is altogether remote from the dusty arena of contemporary life. Each story is presented in a sequence of neatly rounded episodes ascending inevitably to the climax and before the curtain falls the plot is then unwound in the same stately measure. The polished rhythmic cadences fall soothingly on the ear. There is a pervasive suggestion of mellow port and old mahogany. But such cultivated classicism is eclectic stuff suited only to a special audience and to certain moods. That in ten years he has won a buying readership of some 300 000 (which includes American editions and translations into Burmese, German and Swedish) is no inconsiderable achievement. But one question remains. How far can the creative artist, as opposed to the formal historian, afford to dwell constantly in the past if he is to attain the front rank of contemporary letters?

From an historical narrative, however dramatic to full fledged drama or fiction is a far cry. Collis has so far attempted two plays and two novels. His first play to be staged, *The Motherly and Auspicious*, has just been tried out by the People's Theatre at Newcastle. Negotiations for a West End production and for the screening of several other books are now in progress. His novels *Sanda Mala* and *The Dark Door*, are both set in Burma. *The Dark Door* is a delicious piece of fun poised on the adventures of a British secret service agent in the Kra Isthmus in 1940. Had it waited until after Pearl Harbour it would have attracted a great deal more notice. In it Collis for the first time discarded his documentary crutches and allowed his imagination free play. Its airy satire of British Intelligence is akin in manner to Harold Nicholson's delicious skit *Public Faces*. Though too thin in texture to rank as full grown fiction, *The Dark Door* is a tantalizing hint of latent powers especially in the characterization of Mrs Farlow, the incredible Eurasian tin proprietor. In some respects Collis burst upon the world too fully fledged. Few first books command such instant success as *Siamese White* which at once displayed his sophisticated knowledge of men and affairs, his historical erudition and his finished maturity of style. By exploiting this technique he established his position and it is only in the last year or two that he has begun to experiment with new forms. It is yet to be hoped that he will come increasingly to write out of himself without what he would doubtless regard as degenerating into naturalism or sacrificing a stylized manner. After all, the literary giants are creatures of flesh and blood with a passionate concern for humanity. Deliberately to hold aloof from the cares and emotions of ordinary men is deliberately to stand back into the second place. Collis has woven some epoch making designs upon his tapestry. But there is too much tapestry.

WAR-TIME DEVELOPMENTS IN MYSORE

(Specially Contributed)

FOOD SUPPLIES

THE problem of arranging for the proper distribution of food supplies within the State has received and is continuing to receive careful and sustained attention. Mysore is deficient in rice, and the provisioning of the three big cities and other parts of the State has been a source of continual anxiety to Government, who have taken need-

ful and adequate steps to meet the situation. Their food policy provides for appropriate controls in all directions—procurement, distribution and price. The scheme of procurement requires all holders to sell to Government at prices fixed as liberally as possible all surplus grains in their possession. Private transactions in food grains are prohibited. Under this scheme 13,32,000 pallas of paddy, 5,20,000 pallas of ragi and about 1,00,000 pallas of other grains were purchased up to the middle of August 1944. The monopoly purchase of these large stocks combined with quotas of imports of rice, wheat, pulses and other foodstuffs allotted so generously by the Government of India, has helped the State to face the food position as satisfactorily as possible.

Side by side with procurement rationing on the basis of census enumeration, has been introduced in the cities and in all urban areas as well. With due safeguards the services of private trade have been utilized to a limited extent in the matter of procurement and more largely in that of distribution. The co-operation of non-officials in the matter of food administration has also been enlisted by giving them substantial representation on the central district and taluk food councils and by appointing them as honorary wardens.

In regard to the question of price the policy of Government has been to fix the prices that they just cover the cost of purchase and transport and direct out-of-pocket expenses. Poorer sections of the population who are unable to buy their requirements at current high prices are fed from free kitchens opened from Palace funds in Mysore City and from State funds in other parts of the State.

The authorities of the Government of India have expressed their appreciation of the food position in Mysore and of the efforts being made by the State to mobilize and make the most careful use of local resources and the imports obtained from outside. I have been very much impressed, said the Honourable Sir J. P. Srivastava, Food Member, Government of India, with the manner in which the State, under the able leadership of the Dewan, has been able to keep the people from starvation in spite of shortages in supply. I am really glad that you have got in the State a comprehensive system of procurement, under which the entire marketable surplus is purchased from the cultivator and made available for distribution to the urban areas and to the non-producer class in rural areas. But for this monopoly procurement, which you were one of the earliest to introduce, your food position might have been as grave as it has been in certain other parts of the country.

Arrangements have been made for the sale of standard cloth through private dealers and co-operative societies in addition to Government depots.

CIVIL SUPPLIES

Apart from food grains and cloth the conservation and proper distribution of a wide range of commodities required for war purposes or to meet civilian needs are being secured by the regulation of exports, fixation of prices, licensing of dealers and otherwise. In order to make these control measures effective a separate agency has been set up under a Controller of Civil Supplies to supervise their administration. Among the more important of these control orders are those relating to the control of cloth yarn, movement of cloth yarn, distribution, sale of drugs and distribution and consumption of paper of all kinds.

GROW MORE FOOD SCHEME

An intensive Grow More Food scheme has been started to increase food production. An area of two lakhs of acres of new land has been granted for cultivation of food crops, more than half of which has been brought under cultivation.

Attempts are also being made to increase the yield from lands already in occupation by the supply of improved seeds and manure at concession rates and of agricultural implements and cart materials practically at cost price. Some idea of the magnitude of these transactions can be had from the fact that seeds and manure of the total value of Rs. 14 lakhs and implements and other materials of the value of Rs. 15 lakhs are being distributed this year. In co-operation with the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, a two-year scheme for the preparation of compost

has been taken up in several municipalities. A scheme for aiding cattle-breeders by leasing to them adequate extents of pasture land on a concessionary basis has been introduced.

VEGETABLE PRODUCTION

The development of vegetable cultivation is also being promoted. Special facilities are being offered to the raiyats in certain taluks to increase vegetable production on a large scale. The area under vegetable cultivation has increased by 3,000 acres during the past three years. Thirty-nine subvention farms have been started in different parts of the Mandya district to popularize cultivation of vegetables. A scheme for vegetable production in Bangalore and Mysore was recently sanctioned and a Special Officer was appointed to supervise the working of the scheme in the State.

INDUSTRIES AND LABOUR

In order to meet war-time and post-war demand for certain products which are not now manufactured in India the iron and steel works at Bhadravati have been expanded. An open hearth furnace and an electric furnace have been installed and equipment for rolling hoops and strips has been ordered. A ferro-alloy furnace has also been put up. A new fire-brick plant and a pilot plant for the manufacture of acetic acid have been added.

An electrical kiln which is said to be the only one of its kind in Asia, has been put into service in the Government porcelain factory. This has helped to standardize the manufacture of insulators and other porcelain goods. Other schemes of expansion which have been completed or are making progress, include the construction of an additional furnace and the manufacture of steamed bone meal at the Government dichromate factory, the establishment of a sandal oil factory at Shimoga and of a few stills for distillation of sandal oil at Bhadravati and the extension of the ammonia plant at the Mysore chemical factory.

In order to improve the arrangements for the direction and supervision of their working Government industrial concerns have been classified into four main groups—viz. chemical and engineering, textiles, electrical and mechanical and cottage and rural and separate officers have been appointed to exercise general control and supervision over each of these groups.

The Fertilizers Mission and the Machine Tools Mission visited Mysore in the course of their Indian tour. Questions of further development of industries, big and small both now and after the war were discussed by the officers of Government with the members of these Missions. Their suggestions have been kept in view but any major advance in this sphere should harmonize with the policy of industrial development which might be adopted for India as a whole.

The capital invested in Government industrial undertakings (other than railways and electrical works) has increased from Rs. 279.70 lakhs to Rs. 358.29 lakhs since the beginning of the war.

The Labour Act which was passed in 1941, recognizes the formation of Labour Associations. There are fifty of these associations in the State, with a total membership of 30,000. A Labour Department has been formed. Labour welfare activities are being organized by the Department. A special set of works service rules has been brought into force, regulating leave, provident fund etc. of workers in Government industrial concerns.

The enactment of legislation on the lines of the Indian Payment of Wages Act, which has been recommended by the Labour Welfare Board, is under consideration.

SERICULTURE

Sericulture is one of the most important cottage industries in the State which has been systematically developed by Government. The extent under mulberry cultivation has increased from 30,000 acres in 1939 to 75,000 acres in 1944. The number of grainages has also increased from 36 in 1939 to 89 at present, of which 16 are Government and 73 aided. It is proposed to start 16 more aided grainages soon. There are now 51 doopon markets which provide facilities to rearers. The number of

Mysore seed cocoons produced in 1943-44, the last complete year for which figures are available, was 25 crores compared with 20 crores in the previous year.

In view of the importance of silk as material for parachutes, steps have been taken to establish, in co-operation with the Government of India, additional filatures with a view to increasing silk production. The scheme contemplates the putting up of 1,460 basins, of which 900 basins have been erected. Seven hundred and forty of these are working, besides 247 old basins. The erection of the remaining basins is in progress. The contract with the Government of India for the supply of filature silk for war purposes came into effect from July, 1943 and the quantity of silk supplied up to December 1944, was 1,19,717 lbs.

A building is under construction at Chanhapatna for the location of a silk conditioning and testing house.

AGRICULTURE

The main activities of the Department of Agriculture in recent years have been to secure an increase in food production in all possible ways. The Department is promoting intensive cultivation of new lands granted under the 'Grow More Food' scheme, making special efforts to increase the yields of crops on lands already in holding distributing to the raiyats improved varieties of paddy and ragi seed and manures, and iron and wooden materials and implements and is carrying on concentrated work on the laying out of demonstration plots subvention farms and seed plots in selected areas under the Rural Reconstruction scheme. It has introduced two new crops virginia tobacco and irrigated cotton in addition to sugar cane under the Irwin Canal and the results obtained so far have been very encouraging. The development of live-stock husbandry has received special attention. The establishment of three sheep-breeding stations has been recently sanctioned.

An Agricultural Marketing Department has been organized. A project for a regulated market for cotton and groundnuts at Davangere has been sanctioned at a cost of Rs. 3½ lakhs and is under progress. The opening of similar markets at Tiptur and elsewhere is under consideration. A few marketing co-operative societies have also been started and are going good work.

IRRIGATION

Thirty six major irrigation works costing about Rs. 95 lakhs and bringing an additional area of 52,000 acres under irrigation, have been sanctioned during the last five years, and are in various stages of progress. The possibility of taking up projects in the Thungabhadra valley following the recent conclusion of an agreement with the Government of Madras in regard to the sharing of the Thungabhadra waters is also under active consideration. In order to ensure more rapid progress of all irrigation works a separate Chief Engineer for Irrigation has been recently appointed.

For the future a five year programme comprising 28 works of irrigation, involving a total outlay of about Rs. 2 crores and bringing an extent of 66,000 acres under wet cultivation has been drawn up and will be carried out in stages.

Irrigation under the Irwin Canal has now reached 90,000 acres as against the maximum irrigable area of 120,000 acres.

ROADS AND COMMUNICATIONS

The maintenance of roads has assumed special importance in recent years owing to heavy military and other traffic. A length of 273 miles of roads of strategic importance, which has deteriorated on account of military traffic is to be reconditioned at a cost of about Rs. 15 lakhs which is to be borne equally by the State and the Government of India. For special repairs to other trunk roads of military importance a special grant of Rs. 2 lakhs has been made by Government. A five-year programme for converting important trunk roads into cement concrete roads has been tentatively approved and a sum of Rs. 15 lakhs has been provided for the work this year. A committee is at work examining the requirements of the State in the matter of road development on the lines of the policy that the Central Government has laid down in this respect.

HYDRO-ELECTRIC WORKS—JOG SCHEME

The State was a pioneer of hydro-electric undertakings in India. The stations at Sivassamudram and Shimsha are generating about 68,000 h.p. at present. The demand for power in the State for industrial purposes has been on the increase, particularly for industries engaged in the production of war materials. Another scheme for the generation of 64,000 h.p. (with provision to expand the capacity of the station eventually to 128,000 h.p.) at Jog has been sanctioned at an estimated cost of over Rs. 400 lakhs. Thanks to the assistance extended by the Government of India by way of issuing priority and import licences and in other ways, it has been possible to obtain all the machinery and materials required from England and to make good progress in the execution of these works. A total outlay of Rs. 125 lakhs has so far been incurred on the project. This scheme will when completed not only relieve the load on the Cauvery and the Shimsha power installations, but will also make available a large block of power for industrial development in the State. The possibility of developing other schemes for the generation of power is also under examination, and at the moment a preliminary survey has been undertaken in connection with the proposed hydro-electric scheme at Mekedat in Bangalore district.

The Bangalore Power Distribution System is proposed to be converted from 35 kv to 78 kv at an estimated cost of Rs. 10 lakhs.

Two hundred and thirty towns and villages have so far been supplied with electric power for lighting and other purposes.

EDUCATION.

The provision for education has been increased from Rs. 54 lakhs in 1939-40 to Rs. 95.55 lakhs in 1944-45. Special attention is being devoted to expansion of primary and middle school grades of education in the State. By the Elementary Education Act of 1941 the control of elementary education vested in local bodies was resumed by Government. A programme of opening 1,000 new primary schools over a period of four years was undertaken in 1941. This was achieved within three years and it is proposed to open 400 more schools in the current year. There are now about 8,000 primary schools with a total strength of 374,000, the increase since 1941 being 160,000 including 42,000 girls. An Act has been passed making it obligatory on parents who admit their children into these schools not to withdraw them before the completion of the full course of four years. Encouragement is being given to non-official endeavour to promote adult education. The number of new middle schools opened is five to six times the average number reached in past years. There are now 480 of these schools with a total strength of 68,000, and 336 upper primary schools have been converted into middle schools of the new type by providing for the teaching of English. Sixteen new high schools were opened last year bringing the total number of high schools in the State to 78, with a strength of 18,000, including 2,600 girls.

The Sri Krishnarajendra Technological Institute and the Sri Jayachamarajendra Occupational Institute, which commenced working in August 1943, afford practical training to young men in various trades and industries. The latter institution which was opened by His Highness the Maharaja, has for its object the training of young men in several modern occupations and the training of craftsmen already engaged in occupations in modern methods and in the use of modern tools and machinery.

The Mysore University celebrated its silver jubilee in July 1941. A special Convocation was held on the occasion which was presided over by His Highness the Maharaja, the Chancellor of the University. The Degree course in Commerce has been revived in the University.

BROADCASTING

The Akash Vani Broadcasting Station at Mysore has been taken over and is managed by Government. The station is housed in a new building constructed for the purpose at a cost of Rs. 1½ lakhs. The transmission hours have been extended, and the programmes have been improved both in quality and variety. The station has been broadcasting four times a day in Kannada and Urdu.

PUBLIC HEALTH

The Department of Public Health has been enlarged in order to deal more effectively with plague (the incidence of which is high in Mysore) and malaria. Special regulations have been passed, and are enforced to facilitate control of plague. Malaria control work has been in operation in a number of places, in newly irrigated tracts and in all the 200 villages in the Irwin Canal area. Health units have been established at various places in the State, in addition to ten units round about Bangalore.

Steps have been taken to stimulate the cultivation of cinchona and pyrethrum for malaria control work in the State.

A Town Planning Committee has been formed to give expert advice in regard to town planning and housing schemes.

MEDICAL AID

Mysore is now served by about 400 medical institutions which gives an average of one institution for every seventy four square miles of area and 18,000 of the population. The annual expenditure on medical relief is now Rs. 26 lakhs, showing an increase of Rs. 10 lakhs in the last five years.

Schemes for improving and developing the indigenous systems of medicine, which serve a large proportion of the population especially in rural areas, are kept in view. His Highness the Maharaja laid the foundation stone of the Sri Jayachama rajendra Institute of Indian Medicine at Bangalore in December 1943. The construction of this hospital with its wards, pharmacies and laboratory is estimated to cost Rs. 8.18 lakhs towards which several philanthropic gentlemen have given donations aggregating Rs. 3½ lakhs. The establishment of this institute marks the beginning of a serious attempt to develop the Ayurvedic and Unani systems of medicine on modern lines.

A Blood Bank has been opened in the Victoria Hospital at Bangalore, and a special committee of qualified and experienced medical officers has been formed for the administration of the bank.

Many public-spirited people in the State have freely given and are giving generous donations towards the schemes for the extension of medical relief.

The M.B.B.S. degree of the Mysore University has been recognized for emergency commissions in the I.M.S. as a war-time measure. Various concessions have been shown to medical officers in service and medical graduates so that they may enlist as commissioned officers in the Army. So far as is known over ninety persons, including several officers of the State Medical Department, have volunteered for service in the Army besides four ladies who have joined the Auxiliary Nursing Service.

VETERINARY AID

Mysore has, relatively for its area, a larger number of veterinary institutions than any other part of India. There are now ninety-three veterinary dispensaries in the State. Live-stock work has been made an integral part of the duties of all veterinary officers. Large sums are being provided every year for dairying and cattle-breeding and for sheep-breeding. The preparation of anti-rabic treatment vaccine for animals on a commercial scale has been taken up in the Serum Institute at Bangalore.

RURAL RECONSTRUCTION

In pursuance of a five-year plan of rural rehabilitation, a large number of hoblis have been selected for intensive work, and non-official honorary workers have been appointed and trained for work in these areas. A sum of Rs. 3,40,000 was distributed last year to the several village panchayats in these hoblis for works of public utility. The items of work attended to under the scheme comprise the construction of drinking water wells, provision of drainage, laying out of village extensions and interior and approach roads, and starting of schools, agricultural depots, veterinary dispensaries and co-operative societies.

The five-year scheme of rural water supply which was started in 1938 with the object of providing a supply of drinking water to all villages that were lacking in this amenity, is being continued for another period of three years with an annual con-

tribution of Rs. 3 lakhs from State funds. Out of 18,400 villages in the State, 15,500 have now been provided with drinking-water wells.

Under the scheme of inter-village communications good progress is being made from year to year. A length of 420 miles of roads has been formed with an outlay of nearly Rs. 6 lakhs. Revised instructions have been issued, in the light of past experience, for the execution and maintenance of these roads, the village panchayats concerned being asked to set aside 10 per cent of their annual income for this purpose, to be supplemented by a grant from Government not exceeding Rs. 20 per mile.

STATE FINANCES

The revenue of the State has been increasing from year to year and now stands at over Rs. 8 crores compared with Rs. 4.75 crores in 1940-41. The expenditure has also been increasing in bulk as well as in diversity. The increased resources have placed the State in a position to expand its nation-building activities. Capital works involving considerable outlay are under progress or are proposed to be undertaken after the war. At this stage it has been considered desirable to have the financial programmes and methods reviewed in detail by one with an expert knowledge of finance. The services of a retired officer of the Indian Financial Service have been engaged for this purpose.

ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

The Economic Conference which was established in 1911 but suspended in 1931 on account of financial stringency has been revived recently. The machinery of this organization is being used for the preparation and examination of specific schemes of development. A Commissioner for Economic Development and Planning has been appointed to deal with this work. The constituent Boards of this Conference have considered a number of questions and submitted recommendations. The Board of Agriculture has considered questions relating to the development of fisheries, the formation of a joint-stock company for the establishment of fuel plantations, the starting of a bone-meal factory for supply of phosphatic manures, the development of lift irrigation and land development. The Board of Industries has devoted attention to questions relating to the reorganization of technical education, the laying out of an industrial suburb for Bangalore City and the manufacture of plastics. The Board of Sericulture has chalked out a programme of development of the sericulture industry involving a capital cost of Rs. 10 lakhs and a recurring annual expenditure of Rs. 2 lakhs. The Board of Education is drawing up a comprehensive programme embracing all stages of education and has considered reports bearing on education in the nursery, primary and post primary stages, education of adults, girls and depressed classes, medical inspection of schools, physical education and the training of teachers. The Department of Economic Development, which will shortly include a statistical bureau, is making a general survey of present conditions and studying possible lines of development in post-war years in regard to all aspects of nation-building work including education, agriculture, irrigation, forestry, livestock, industries and trade, sericulture, hydro-electric development, roads and communications and social services. The outlines of the draft plan for the economic development of Mysore have been prepared and published for general information.

THE BURMA CAMPAIGN

BY SQUADRON LEADER CHARLES GARDNER

THREE years of fighting over the devil's own country has finished

We finished it when we captured Rangoon on May 4, 1945 and hoisted the Union Jack over Burma's capital. For three years and a quarter the city had been in Japanese hands—had been a centre in that slave state nightmare called The Greater South East Asia Patron The Son of Heaven

The Japs will not come back to Rangoon. Nor, when mopping up is over will they come back to Burma. They are on the run—their thoughts only of defence, and of how they can stave off for as long as possible the unfurling of Allied flags over Singapore, Bangkok and Sabang.

Putting the flags there won't be easy but when all these places are free again—I think we shall look back to the Burma campaign and say 'That was the key battle—that was the greatest task

When Admiral Mountbatten came to his newly created South-East Asia Command in the late autumn of 1943 the problems facing him seemed well nigh insurmountable. Our forces were meagre—our responsibilities great.

The Japanese were firmly in all over Burma—with a great jungle barrier and sprawling mountain ranges forming a buffer to insulate them against major Allied attack. A 200-mile belt of the world's thickest natural mess, and two great rivers protected them in the Central Burma plain. Through these ragged mountains and steaming overgrown valleys ran, from our side, but two roads and no railways. The Japs it seemed could stay contentedly on their side of the Chindwin—nourished by good internal lines of communications which stretched benevolently back to the major port of Rangoon.

On the other side of the jungle barrier—our side—the picture was different. We had no nourishing net work of roads and railways, no kindly port close at hand.

Where was *our* supply base?

At Calcutta 900 miles back! Linked to our fighting front by but one railway—the Bengal Assam line—already heavy laden with the supplies to be flown to China. Charged too with supporting General Stilwell's drive to reopen a land route to Chungking. What was more—there could be no relief from this state of affairs until we held Rangoon. For the whole of the next 1,300 miles of advance it seemed as if we were doomed to be tied to Calcutta.

Mountbatten took one look at the position and summed it up in a sentence. The Biggest Logistical Nightmare of the War.

How the Japs must have smiled when they heard that! How safe they must have felt!

What could the British do? We had the weakest lines of communication any army had ever had to fight from. We had no roads or space by which to deploy our superior equipment—when we got it. We were sealed off from Central Burma by trackless mountain and jungle. We were vulnerable to sudden attack from over the Chindwin.

On the fact of it then, all the Japanese had to do was to sit tight, build up supplies on the Chindwin banks, and then strike at India through the jungle of which they believed themselves to be all-time kings.

Yet, by May 1945 all this dream was shattered. So were three Jap armies and a Jap air force! Over 120,000 of the Emperor's best troops were dead and Burma was British again.

How did it happen?

The story which follows now is an uncoloured simplified account of one of the greatest military campaigns in the history of war. One which was planned audaciously and carried through with courage and resolution by three British Imperial

Corps of troops one Anglo-American Air Force and a few divisions of Chinese—all supported by the big and little (but mainly the little) ships of the Royal Navy and the Royal Indian Navy

The first hurdle Mountbatten had to clear was that of the supply line. The solution of the problem of distance and lack of roads and railways was apparent to all the senior officers to the Supremo, to General Slim G.O.C. of the 14th Army to Wingate—it was air supply.

Bring your goods down the chimney said Wingate. There's no future on the jungle floor.

And so painfully (for there were many urgent and competing demands on Allied production) a fleet of Dakota transports was gathered together. Squadron by squadron—British and American—they were assembled behind the lines in India.

Said the Air Force chiefs: Before we can run this fleet of unarmed merchant ship aircraft we must sweep the skies clear of Japanese fighters. The transports can't operate in the face of fighter opposition. First things first—we must gain complete air supremacy or, further than that, we must have air monopoly!

So gradually the combat as well as the transport side of the Air Forces was built up. Spitfires, Mustangs, Beaufighters and Lightnings all began to trickle through. Few enough they were—the bare minimum—but enough.

More detailed planning was not possible. The main airfields for the air lift which was to beat the jungle were chosen. Bases in India and near the railway were earmarked for the first phase. For the second phase (in Central Burma) it was decided to supply from the Arakan ports and over the Soma mountains. The complicated organizations for the building of airfields and for the sorting and loading of stores were worked out. The Dakota force was yet but small—but S.E.A.C. laid the foundations for a mansion. Those foundations were the foundations of victory.

For the purposes of this account I will set on one side the North East Burma campaign of 1944-45—the Stilwell-Wingate offensive which cleared the ground for the Ledo Road through Myitkina and Bhamo to China. This important task was S.E.A.C.'s first charge on its charter and it was a task triumphantly discharged. The first convoy went through to China in January 1945. This North East Burma fighting, however, was not concerned directly with the liberation of Central Burma although our forces there naturally tied down Japanese troops and resources. What must be remembered, however, is that from March, 1944, until the monsoon Wingate's men were in and were a major standing charge on our air supply—a charge which had to be fulfilled for the Chindits had no other resources save those which came by air. They were 200 miles behind the enemy lines.

To return then to the central theme—our planned offensive over the Chindwin.

As the air supply for phase two of the liberation depended on Arakan ports (Chittagong and Akyab) those ports had to be free from enemy menace. That was why, in early 1944, 15th Indian Corps was pushing down Arakan towards Akyab. About the same time the Air Forces began their long term programme of clearing the air to prepare for the Dakota merchant shipping.

But just as this preamble to our plan was under way the unco-operative Japanese altered the shape of our commitments. They launched two major attacks towards India—first in Arakan, where we were getting dangerously close to Akyab—and then later in the central sector, at Imphal.

Those two attacks had both been foreseen and provided against, but they had the immediate effect of making us follow an enemy lead. In the long run they speeded the whole business of the recapture of Burma but, for the time being, we lost the initiative.

In Arakan the Japs were decisively beaten, but only after they had completely surrounded the 7th Indian Division. The enemy's protecting air force was shot down and so mauled that it withdrew from the struggle early on, and the Dakotas kept the isolated 7th going until they were relieved from the north and a great slaughter of Japanese was made.

Result: On the whole beneficial to us and our plan. Many Jap fighter aircraft out of the way, which saved us the trouble of seeking them out, and the road to Akyab made easier by the weakening of enemy forces.

But, right on the heels of this defensive victory of ours, the Japs plunged into their Imphal-Kohima show. This was their big push—and a pretty stroke it would have been had it come off. It aimed at bursting into India, and cutting the Bengal-Assam railway line above Kohima, neatly leaving Stilwell and his China road project sitting on the end of a sawn off limb. En route it would have destroyed four Corps of the 14th Army, and may have found the road to Calcutta more or less open.

The Japs were convinced that success would be theirs. On to Delhi! cried their radio—and there was no doubt that the shot was, as they say at billiards, "on."

Slim however had seen the Jap chalking his cue for this winning hazard for some time. As the Japs surged round Imphal and isolated Kohima he knew that, if we could hold those two places, this enemy offensive would be the turning point of the Burma war. What appeared to be a serious reverse to our plans was, in fact, a golden opportunity that would speed up the whole process of liberation—providing Imphal and Kohima were held.

They were!

The story of that struggle is well known. The air supply machine took over a daily commitment of over 500 tons at Imphal and maintained it. The fighters progressed yet further in their long range task of destroying the Jap Air Force which again came out for a short time and then retired. The Dakotas had a full-scale try out for air supply and troop movement. During the struggle they moved the 5th and 7th Indian Divisions complete from Arakan to the Chindwin battle. This removal of two of its divisions weakened the 15th Corps which was not then in a position to follow up the defensive victory of February with the capture of Akyab before May and the monsoon. Thus their Imphal offensive kept Akyab in Jap hands for a further ten months but this was now academic as enemy offensive power in Arakan was broken and Chittagong—main Dakota port for phase two—was no longer in danger.

By mid June the Imphal battle was over. The Japs had lost heavily and had taken crippling casualties without gaining a thing. We on the other hand had done more than merely deny the enemy. We had proved the possibilities of air supply and taken out its teething troubles. We had killed the Jap Air Force (pre requisite number one for the coming Central Burma Dakota operations), and on the west coast we had secured an unmenaced Chittagong. All these benefits had accrued to us as by products of two defensive actions.

Air Marshal Joubert, in March, 1944, when the Japs were at Kohima, said. This is the enemy's big mistake. He has come to us and so saved us the difficult and costly business of going into the jungle to find him. He was now proved to be right.

As the monsoon started, the enemy broken, starving and disorganized, fled back into the jungle-belt.

It was an opportunity not to be missed—one of the great opportunities of war. Rain or no rain the pursuit was on. Spearheaded by the 5th Indian Division, our men pushed through the jungle—down the mudbath called the Tiddim road—and also down the Tamu road (monument to our engineering skill). Once again Dakotas brought the supplies and took out the wounded. The Japs fled fighting rearguard actions but still bewildered and defeated.

It was our troops now who were Kings of the Jungle. The results of Slim's far sighted training plans and the inspiring feats of Wingate in North East Burma were proving to the world that Jap invincibility was a myth.

By the end of the monsoon we were virtually through that insulating jungle belt which the enemy had regarded as an impregnable safety zone, in which he only could mount an attack. By November of 1944 we were across the Chindwin and before us was the promised land—the Central Plain, with the Chindwin and then the Irrawaddy valleys flowing flat and inviting south to Mandalay and Rangoon.

This was the kick-off for Phase Two.

Six months of good weather ahead—room to deploy—and the base port of the air life line in Arakan secure. The Jap Air Force was already out and, in the north east, Stilwell was practically through to China.

There was one danger—there could be no drawing back. Once the 14th was on its way south it had burned its boats. Every yard gained was a yard further away

from the port of Calcutta. There could be no relief from that dismal fact until Rangoon.

In other words, if and when the 14th was at the gates of Rangoon it would be 2,000 impossible miles from its base post. It would be *utterly completely and entirely dependent upon the Dakotas*. If the *Dakotas* organisation failed or if the *safety of Rangoon was not reached before the Monsoon of 1945 the whole 14th would be out in the blue*. Air supply might well not be able to maintain the Army in South Burma in monsoon conditions, and a bogging down short of the objective could easily be the prelude to major disaster.

Mountbatten, Leese and Slim knew the risk, but it was one which had to be taken sooner or later—and now was the time to take it.

So, in December, the 14th came over the Chindwin! The die was cast!

General Monty Stopford's 33rd Corps crossed at two places, with the 2nd British and the 19th and 20th Indian Divisions working together at the start of the plan which was to bring us to Mandalay. The 19th Division after crossing the river kept on due east to the Irrawaddy. The 2nd Division and 20th Division turned south into the Burma plain. They too were headed for the Irrawaddy but at the point where it bends westward from Mandalay and runs due east and west for sixty miles before turning back again on to its southerly course for Rangoon. On their way they captured the Kabo weir intact—a vital achievement this as the weir is the basis of irrigation for that great rice-growing plain.

It was now that the 14th Army changed from a jungle to a desert army—not because Central Burma is a desert, but because militarily many of the problems are the same. The open spacious plain lent itself to Labaya-like tactics.

Here, able to see twenty miles at a glance instead of twenty yards, they switched all their tactics to the new conditions. Great battles were fought. But by now our superior equipment could have a real chance—the tanks, the carriers, the armoured cars and our aircraft.

The Japs tried the old stuff—foxholes, trenches, and fanatical resistance. But Slim's men cut and thrust round them and swept on. And with them, however fast they moved, went that other half of Mountbatten's Burma forces: Eastern Air Command and the all important Dakotas of Combat Cargo Task Force.

By the middle of January, 33rd Corps was crossing the Irrawaddy, the largest of the Japs river barriers. 19th Division, after bloody battles, reached the east side of the river north of Mandalay, while 2nd and 20th Divisions crossed west of Mandalay over that section of the river that runs east and west. All these crossings were heavily opposed and our bridgeheads heavily counter-attacked.

This was a touch-and-go period. On the 2nd and 20th Divisions' side of the battle our flank was wide open to crippling counter-attack. That counter-attack was never launched. General Stopford in his tactical appreciation had forecast that the Japanese would not realize the weak position of the British flank and he was right.

With the bridgeheads consolidated, two strong forces moved on Mandalay from the north and from the west. 19th Division under Major-General Rees got there first and took the City. Fort Dufferin fell on March 20th.

The time for the big drive south to Rangoon had arrived!

There were less than two months to go before the monsoon and there were 350 miles of enemy-held country to cross. The 14th Army had got to average over six miles a day to set the seal on the victories of the previous twelve months.

It was now that General Slim unleashed his surprise stroke. As the three divisions of 33rd Corps regrouped in the Mandalay area he threw in against the bewildered Japanese another corps of the 14th Army.

The 4th Corps under Lieutenant-General Frank Messervy had for some time been assembling secretly near the Irrawaddy at Pakokku. From there it made a brilliant dash across the river and flung an armoured column ninety miles to the south-east to seize Meiktila. An airborne column was at once flown in in support. The Japanese south of Mandalay now had their escape road to Rangoon cut and after a bitter battle for Meiktila 4th Corps plunged southwards towards the Burma capital. Meanwhile 33rd Corps having regrouped moved across to the western flank and also began a drive towards Rangoon down the axis of the Irrawaddy River. It is doubtful if for

some time, the Japs realized they were facing twin drives on the capital, each drive being of a corps strength

4th Corps, specially geared for speed, with airborne and motorized brigades, leapt down the railway towards Rangoon at an average speed of over fifteen miles a day, and by the beginning of May was only twenty miles from the port. Then, on May 2, 1945, Mountbatten sealed the fate of Rangoon. With the monsoon rains already threatening, he launched an airborne and amphibious assault to which the Japanese had no answer.

Troops of the 26th Indian Division captured Rangoon on May 4 and a few days later linked up with Messervy's 4th Corps drive.

The great plan had worked. We had brought our forces 1,000 miles from Imphal on a main basis of air supply. To do it something like 200 Dakota strips had had to be built by British and Indian engineers. The Army routine had been to consolidate, build its air strip, receive its supplies and move on. Towards the last days of the campaign Combat Cargo Task Force was carrying nearly 3,000 tons a day to the 14th Army and in addition was moving something like 12,000 troops a week.

And now SEAC stands on the threshold of new achievements. Mountbatten is master of the seas and skies of South East Asia. On his right flank McArthur reaches towards Borneo. The strangulation of Japan and of the troops in the territories she has stolen takes shape.

SEAC with Rangoon in its possession is free to fit its moves into the overall pattern of the Japanese war. The 14th and now the 12th Army as well have a major supply port on their own front doorstep—a luxury they have never previously enjoyed.

Reinforcements of men, ships, guns and aircraft are arriving from Europe for Mountbatten and his Combined Operations day seems likely to dawn soon.

Rangoon was the first and perhaps the most difficult step. It was a pre-requisite of all that is to follow. That step has been gloriously made by bravery and audacity of planning.

The world—and the Japanese—now wait for the next blow to fall!

THE RESISTANCE IN INDOCHINA

By M. VALLAT

(Administrateur des Colonies)

French Indochina desired in 1940 to carry on the struggle and to resist, at the side of the Allies, the encroachment of Siam and the aggression of Japan. For this outside help was necessary.

Neither France who was crushed nor Great Britain who was in difficulties nor the United States who were still at peace could in spite of all appeals, help French Indochina, who was obliged to yield for the time after bitter fighting.

The struggle began again on March 9, 1945, in conditions similar in that it had no immediate help from outside.

The following lines gave a brief résumé of events in Indochina between September 1940, and May 1945.

Left alone against Japan, French Indochina was none the less resolved to fight some day on the side of the Allies.

Even in September, 1940, while the Japanese exerted pressure on Vichy and its government in Indochina, the soldiers of France and Indochina opposed in bloody battles the entry through Lang Son of the troops of Nippon, which the Japanese Command wished to evacuate from the Chinese zone on the approaches to the frontier, which until then had been occupied.

After the fall of Lang Son and the proclamation of the agreement which was to

be extended to all Indochina when hostilities broke out in the Pacific, there were numbers who refused to submit to the conditions of the agreement. Some succeeded in getting through the police barriers to join the fighting French. Others sought to contact the Gaullists in China. They did not do so unscathed. The situation of the Free French in that country was precarious when at last, liaison having been established the resistance took a definite form.

On many different occasions Gaullists were parachuted into the interior. During their visits they created the nuclei round which gathered the patriots and designated, in the name of the London Committee, the chiefs of the Liberation Movement.

It was scarcely possible to constitute a Maquis like that of France and the other countries occupied by the Nazis.

Combatant groups could not be raised without European officers, who could not have found safe hiding places except in regions cut off from all means of communication and from which action, even then, would have been ineffective. For the same reason sabotage gangs could scarcely be brought into action straightaway. They had to content themselves, therefore, with raising gangs as they raised the guerrillas. They must set to work either when the Allies were ready for a landing from the sea or for an operation through China or Siam or, on the other hand if the initiative were with the Japanese.

It was this last which came about. The Japanese had completely failed in their attempt to lead the French and the Indochinese into true collaboration. This evidence added to the fact that they had had wind of the preparations going on led them on March 9, 1945, to attempt the disarmament of the French forces. However, the intelligence services of the Resistance organizations, particularly at Hanoi had been on the alert from the evening of the 8th. Faced by the imminence of this Japanese stroke, some soldiers and some fighting civilians gathered in the citadel and then firmly awaited the Japanese attack.

It took place on the 9th at 8 p.m. and was disengaged when the Japanese had seized the power house and the post office. The Japanese batteries installed at Gia Lam on the left bank of the Red River opened fire on the citadel, while a cordon of Japanese troops encircled the fortifications and another occupied the town. The little garrison held out for forty-four hours, and was only reduced when its ammunition ran out.

At the same time the Japanese took action all over Indochina and succeeded fairly rapidly in neutralizing the French troops of Cochinchina, Cambodia and South Annam which were easy to isolate. But they had to pay the price. At Hue the barracks fell only after several aerial bombardments. Everywhere military and civil groups escaped from indefensible positions to join the guerrillas.

Without air support, practically without artillery endowed with a restricted armament, the French troops could not hope to give battle in the Tonkin delta. More over since the cessation of hostilities the forces stationed at Tong, Thanhcuyen and Tye n Quang had fallen back towards Upper Tonkin in the direction of Sonla. This was a difficult operation, for the French had command of not a single line of communication. The Japanese had in fact, taken care everywhere to put their own detachments in amongst the French dispositions. The posts were encircled as effectively in the interior as on the frontier where, it must not be forgotten, the Japanese were established on Chinese territory.

They succeeded, moreover at the beginning of hostilities in seizing Hokow, a Chinese town situated at the confluence of the Red River and the River Namn, opposite Lao Kay, the terminus of the railway connecting Haiphong with Kunming.

French and natives, united as brothers, fought heroically. At Moncay they besieged the Japanese in the citadel of Hanoi. But owing to the insufficiency of their armament they could not capture the position. Nevertheless, they seized Tienyen, where unfortunately they lost their leader, Colonel Lecoq, who was killed in the assault.

After a fortnight of fighting having suffered many casualties and not having obtained supplies by air, as they had hoped, these troops found themselves obliged at last to withdraw into China.

In this theatre of operations as in so many others, the Japanese frequently behaved barbarously. The fort of Dong Dang, frontier post of the Lang Son region, which was

attacked on March 9, resisted on the 10th and 11th, under uninterrupted artillery fire, the attack of three thousand Japanese. On the morning of the 12th, having exhausted their ammunition, the defenders had to give themselves up. A scene of atrocity ensued. The commander of the fort, after being hypocritically congratulated by the Japanese on his heroic resistance was killed by a revolver shot while he was holding discussions with them. Nine French soldiers, forty Indochinese, two Annamite women who were caring for the wounded, the postmaster and his assistant together with a Customs official were taken to a trench, stripped tied together and beheaded with a sword. From the opening of hostilities up to this time the French troops which had been able to escape encirclement in the delta of the Red River and in Lower Laos had withdrawn fighting constantly towards the mountains of Upper Tonkin, through the valley of the Black River and the Mekong.

Their retreat towards the Indochinese redoubt is a veritable epic. Imagine how hard were the conditions for these troops. Worn by a long stay in a tropical country outclassed in armament and outnumbered by an enemy who was broken-in to jungle warfare by campaigns in China and Burma badly provisioned or not provisioned at all obliged to move through a rough and barren region without medical supplies, carrying with them a large number of sick and suffering many casualties at Tuan Giao where the legionaries of the 5th Foreign sacrificed themselves to cover the crossing of the Black River at Thakek where the garrison was wiped out the wounded were finished off by the Japanese who moreover massacred the European civilian population they preserved none the less, a splendid morale even sometimes going over into counter attack. It was thus that a battalion forced to withdraw into China by Japanese pressure re-entered Tonkin at the end of April and drove the Japanese out of Trung Khan Phu, Matien and Manmer.

Actually in spite of these vicissitudes the French troops maintained themselves on Indochinese territory on the approaches to the Chinese frontier. In the interior in the Base Lakes and in Annam the French Indochinese guerillas remained active. Factories went on fire, bridges blew up the colonial highway No. 13 became unusable for a long period as a result of destruction brought about by these bands. Through the length and breadth of the Union subversive action was carried on with vigour.

Thus in spite of the disproportion of the forces in opposition, the Indochinese Resistance far from having been a futile gesture had its full effect. In order to try to reduce it the Japanese had to call in reinforcements taken from China and Burma. But the hundred thousand men which they gathered in China did not succeed in assuring to them the freedom of communication with the Shan States of which they had imperious need in order to put into operation the inevitable withdrawal of their troops towards the Transindochina railway.

French Indochina, with complete self-sacrifice has taken her place in the struggle and played a part by no means negligible in the strategy of the United Nations.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIAN STATES

By R. W. BROCK

In an analysis of the political and economic relations of The Indian States and the British Commonwealth of Nations published in the last issue of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*, Mir Maqbool Mahmood—whose close association with the Chamber of Princes lends additional weight to his comments—thought it necessary to emphasize that while the States are prepared to work with British India for the country's greater economic advancement and prosperity, they intend to see that impediments are not placed on the legitimate development of their own resources and that there is no discrimination against their peoples in fostering their young industries in the

nascent stage they are actuated with no feeling of rivalry with, much less hostility towards, British India. They have accordingly suggested that until such time as an All-India Constitution is framed their representatives may be associated with the Government of British India in the formulating and implementation of policies with which their co-operation is desired.

Over a year ago I elaborated the arguments favouring the closest possible approximation to an economic federation in India pending the consummation of the political federation contemplated in the India Act of 1935, but unfortunately not achieved, and every subsequent economic, administrative and political development—not least the establishment by Lord Wavell of a Planning and Development Department which can operate effectually only on an All India basis—has intensified the need for progress in this direction. A Federal Economic Planning Board might prove an exceedingly potent influence in bringing the two Indias into closer association, nor is such an assumption invalidated by the fact that, in view of their political detachment, such an organization at this stage could only be consultative and advisory. If close association in the work of government is likely to promote political unity within the boundaries of British India—the psychological basis of the Wavell Plan—common effort in pursuit of economic development would be not less likely to exert a comparable influence in fostering those closer relations between British India and the Indian States which everybody in principle declares to be desirable but which so few people devise any practical suggestions to promote.

Economic planning on an All India basis will cease to be merely a pious aspiration and will become a working reality only when it becomes the function of an All India Economic Council not before. Economic co-operation is more likely to be the prelude rather than the product of political co-operation because at this stage it represents the line of least resistance and therefore affords the most favourable opportunity for immediate action. The political corollary at this juncture would be a Federal Privy Council, establishing for the first time a direct Constitutional link between the two Indias, even though only on a consultative basis but possibly this may be scouted as premature by those who favour the *status quo* in the lamented absence of the *status quo ante*. On the other hand the creation of a Federal Planning Board is overdue and in fact would give administrative expression to the desire of the Chamber of Princes, as already noted that until such time as an All-India Constitution is framed their representatives may be associated with the Government of British India in the very comprehensive economic development programmes now being formulated.

There are, as every economist and administrator knows very few large scale economic projects in India which do not impinge on the relations between British India and the States in one form or another. The same comment applies to Indian economic policies in the wider sense, as for example, fiscal policy and now—in a more vital way than ever before—financial and currency policy especially as all these spheres pass to an increasing degree under Indian control, which in practice means British Indian control. Overtly nothing in the proposals submitted by Lord Wavell to the party leaders in British India will affect the relations between the Crown and the Indian States. In practice however in so far as administrative and legislative control of India's economic and financial affairs is transferred in effect, to the Indianized Executive and Legislature in New Delhi, the latter will exert an increasing influence in these two vital respects in the affairs of the States *de facto* if not *de jure*.

New Delhi in truth is becoming the capital of India and not of British India alone, in reality as well as in name. The semblance of power may remain temporarily in London, but less and less of the substance. On these terms, within a measurable period, paramountcy will become little more than a phrase. The spokesman of the Indian Princes from whom I have already quoted indicated their conception of the alternatives when he wrote 'It is obvious that a Union of States would imply no more fundamental change in the States' relationship with the Crown than would be involved in a union with British India on the basis of Dominion status. That however is not quite the whole story, inasmuch as while a Union of States, enjoying as full Dominion status as the rest of India, would possess fiscal and finan-

cial as well as political independence, union with British India would enable them to influence the moulding of policy in the larger unit but not to control it. No economist familiar with India can doubt that political unity on a federal basis, is the passport to the highest level of economic prosperity attainable within the ambit of its natural resources. But a similar counsel of perfection might be applied to Continental Europe, and whether political considerations are to override economic interests is for India's own leaders to decide, without advice or pressure from any but their own people.

Meanwhile it is impossible to scan any Indian economic journal without finding evidence of increasing association between the two Indias in every branch of economic activity. A recent issue of *The Indian and Eastern Engineer* for example, under the caption *Tungabhadra—India's Most Discussed Project*, supplies details of this great 20-crore irrigation undertaking, marking the culmination of protracted negotiations between the Hyderabad and Madras Governments and representing a joint endeavour to banish famine in the ceded districts. The component parts of the project are a reservoir across the river at Mallapuram submerging nearly 200 square miles and a canal about 210 miles long on the Madras side and one about 170 miles long on the Hyderabad side. In the Bellary district alone 224,530 acres will be served by the project and the waters of one of the three canals will be harnessed to generate hydro-electric power. The Tungabhadra reservoir will impound 120,000,000,000 cubic feet of water and will be one of the largest in India. On the Hyderabad bank it is expected to bring between 600,000 and 700,000 acres of land under irrigation in the Raichur district, where famine or scarcity has been endemic for the last 150 years. The first instalment of the hydro-electric programme has already been started while as announced by the Revenue Member in Hyderabad a combined hydro-electric and irrigation scheme for utilizing the waters of the Godavari and its tributary the Raddam is under investigation the principal reservoir being formed by damming the Godavari. This scheme will irrigate over a million acres of land and develop some 110,000 kilowatts of electricity. In addition to this immense project, the Hyderabad Government have a 43-crore scheme for adding 40 miles to the existing 793 miles of national highways, 7,700 miles to the existing 4,570 miles of provincial highways and major district roads and nearly 12,000 miles to the present 350 miles of minor district and village roads. In the sphere of town planning it is intended to make Hyderabad a model city as soon as the end of the war makes possible a steady execution of the housing programme. The Government are also formulating plans for developing district towns. Before leaving Hyderabad I may note that by the recent completion of the Dindi irrigation project, to quote the engineering journal mentioned above, 'A large tract which suffered from a chronic state of famine and where almost every alternate year people did not get enough from their fields of poor sandy shallow soils to maintain themselves, has been transformed from a howling wilderness into a land of promise. To achieve this aim involved the creation of a lake covering eight square miles with a capacity of 2,610 million cubic feet and a catchment area of 1,513 square miles.'

In Baroda facilities for the improvement of agriculture at a cost of Rs. 84 lakhs, the implementation of the Sabarmati and Zankhari irrigation projects at a cost of Rs. 2.54 crores, the development of electric energy facilities at a cost of Rs. 70 lakhs, the establishment of a college of engineering, a medical college, a technological institute and an institute of agriculture are some of the salient features of the post war reconstruction plans outlined recently to the Board of Industrial Advice by Mr. S. V. Mukherjee, Member for Post war Reconstruction. Other plans include the laying down of 1,246 miles of roads at a cost of Rs. 2.86 crores, and 157 miles of rail ways at a cost of Rs. 2 crores, as well as schemes of extension in 23 towns. As regards industrial development, the establishment of a textile research institute, the expansion of textile production, chemical and oils, and the training of teams of workers in various branches of science and technology are envisaged.

In his article in the April issue, Mir Maqbool Mahmood made the point that there is much scope for Indo-British partnership in the industrial development of the States. Experiments already tried have been most fruitful. The British industrialists would be well advised not to confine their technical skill and other industrial co-

operation to any particular region or party in India. Diversified activity would help them and India as a whole. Subsequent discussions indicated no reluctance on the part of British industrialists to co-operate as readily in the development of new industries in the States as in British India, but if such co-operation is to take practical and fruitful form it rests with the States themselves to make their resources and programmes as widely known as possible. Certainly British India has benefited immeasurably by the inclusion of an able and experienced Trade Commissioner in the staff of the Indian High Commissioner at India House and in Captain Binstead Mysore enjoys the services of one of the most capable Trade Commissioners in London. If it is desired to interest British industrialists in the economic development of the States and indeed to stress their relative advantages in some respects compared with British India the essential prerequisite is clearly the availability in London of the detailed and reliable data which competent Trade Commissioners would be equipped to supply. Essentially the question is not one of setting up rival organizations, but of supplementing the Trade Department at India House, representing primarily British India, by a corresponding organization giving direct representation to the Indian States and promoting their special interests which have always suffered from inadequate publicity.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

INDIA AND THE INDIAN OCEAN By K. M. Panikkar (*George Allen and Unwin Ltd*)
6s net.

(Reviewed by ADMIRAL SIR HERBERT RICHMOND)

This is an excellent and most timely little book, packed with material for thought—and action. Within its small compass it brings out in the clearest possible fashion the vital importance of sea power to India. There has been an unfortunate tendency, says Mr Panikkar in his introduction, to overlook the sea in the discussion of India's defence problem. This is true. Thus, in a book published in 1922 under the title *The Defence of India* though the importance of sea power to India was recognized, the discussion of her maritime defence occupied only nine pages out of ninety-five. Still more support for the assertion is to be found in the opinion expressed by the spokesman of India at the Toronto Conference in 1933 to the effect that India required land defences but was less interested in naval supremacy (*The Times* September 13, 1933).

Recent events one may surely hope, have brought home the fallacy of that view. Even the most land-minded person can hardly have failed to understand that it was only in the conditions of her naval supremacy in 1941 and 1942 that Japan was able to reach the very frontiers of Assam and drop bombs on Calcutta and little exercise of the imagination is needed to see that if after the capture of Singapore, instead of directing her blows to the east and south-east she had thrown the thousands of troops whom she has lost in the Pacific Islands, against India, she could have invaded the coast from the sea with a crushing superiority wherever she chose. Nor is it too much to say that Japan would never have embarked upon her Pacific and Indian aggressions if the old British principle had been maintained of preserving naval superiority in all those oceans in which British interests and possessions lie. So, too, Singapore itself however powerful its defences and determined its defenders, could not have held out until a fleet was available to restore its communications by sea and drive off the seaborne attackers. It would have been bound to fall, as every isolated fortress has fallen in the course of history. It fell. Happily for India the enemy took the southern instead of the western road.

Mr Panikkar sketches the long association of India with the sea, even before the coming of the Europeans. He reminds us that after their arrival the results of the

struggles between them for supremacy in India depended on the outcome of the battles at sea, and not only those off the Coromandel coast but also those in the Bay of Biscay and at the Cape of Good Hope. The defence of India, moreover, is not confined to the protection of its territory against invasion: it is deeply concerned with the security of India's seaborne foreign trade with its annual value of over £400 millions, and also its important coastal trade on which the life and prosperity of so many of its peoples depend.

Mr Pannikar's sketch is not solely historical. He casts his eyes over the whole problem of today and the future. He foreshadows possible developments in the naval situation arising from the Persian Gulf to the China Sea. While paying a proper tribute to the effort which India has made in creating a fighting navy in the last twenty years he insists that it is not enough, for India can never possess real freedom unless she is secure against attack from the sea. But while it is necessary that she should take a greater part in her own defence at sea he realizes that for many years to come it will be beyond her own unaided power to furnish the sea forces required and that there must be co-operation between her Great Britain and the Dominions. He examines the questions of Imperial and Regional Re-organization and indicates the lines on which these should proceed, showing in his analysis a clear appreciation of the interdependence of all parts of the Empire and the fallacy of imagining that any separate part can live securely in separation.

The book can be most warmly commended. It should be read by all who are concerned with the problem of India.

HORSE OF THE SUN By L. E. Loveday Prior (*John Murray*) 9s 6d net

(Reviewed by SIR AUBREY METCALFE)

When so much is being written about the political problems of India it is a relief to read a book that describes with a wealth of accurate detail another facet of that many-sided continent. Rajputana has received perhaps too little literary attention since Colonel Tod wrote his classic and Miss Loveday Prior's book shows evidence of deep study of the literature and traditions of Rajasthan, together with keen observation of the conflict between modern tendencies and the past. Woven into her book are many tales still current about figures in Rajputana, who during their passage across the stage attracted the attention of a public extending far beyond the confines of India. Her story deals with the life of a Rajput ruling prince born in the exotic surroundings of a palace and subject from birth not only to subtle inherited tendencies, but also to the many good and bad influences that go to shape the character and life of the young ruler of an Indian State. The brilliant promise of a career which might have resulted in so much good both for the ruler and for his State are described in language so picturesque that it sometimes cloy, and we then are led through the gradual stages of the tragic fall from grace of this attractive youth. The relations between the ruler and his mother and also between him and his first wife are obviously of great importance in shaping both his public and private life and to these Miss Prior has devoted much of her attention. The subject is not an easy one for the novelist to tackle since the secrets of the palace are jealously guarded from alien eyes and ears, but the picture presented does credit to Miss Prior's imagination which appears to have supplied the material denied to the eye of observation. She is on surer ground in her descriptions of ancient ceremonies, whose splendid pageantry still survives the encroachments of modernity and solemn warnings against princely extravagance.

The political problems of India are touched on lightly but with understanding particularly of the manifold difficulties that beset the autocratic ruler of an Indian State faced with neighbours in British India who profess their faith in aggressive democracy. The author propounds through the mouth of the Ruler's brother, an attractive if somewhat improbable character an interesting theory regarding the common racial origin of Rajputs, Jats and Punjabis with Englishmen and Scotsmen.

She develops this in an ethnological note appended to her book where she writes

The colour question in India is a myth, and has largely been fabricated by the impact of the latest whites, who themselves are only prevented from the inevitable heritage of another two thousand years sun by the steamer and the aeroplane

With all its merits of erudition and imagination the book contains a few rather obvious mistakes. Thus the name selected for the Rajput Prince would appear more appropriate to a Hindu cloth merchant, and reference to the records of the Delhi Durbār of 1911 would have demonstrated that there was then no sea of tents that covered the maidan beneath the red stone battlements of Delhi Fort. The royal and princely encampments were, in fact, several miles from Delhi Fort. These are, however, minor defects, and Miss Prior's book is one that can be confidently recommended to all who wish to improve their knowledge of Indian States and their difficulties

THE STORY OF IRISH ORIENTALISM By M. Mansoor Ph.D. (Longmans) 5s. net

(Reviewed by DR. A. J. ARBERRY)

Dr. Mansoor, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, has gathered into the pages of this attractively illustrated booklet a great range and variety of information on the lives and accomplishments of Irish scholars who have specialized in Oriental studies. As we learn from his narrative Ireland has given birth to Orientalists for more than a thousand years, from mediæval monks to modern administrators, and many of the most distinguished students of Eastern affairs who have written in English were Irish either by origin or domicile or both. To name but a few, Edward Fitzgerald, Richard Burton, William Marsden, George Grierson, the Ouseleys, Edward Hinks, Vincent Smith, all had connections, direct or remote, with the Emerald Isle. One ascription is a little surprising. Dr. Mansoor claims Michael Scotus for Ireland, yet the general tradition—and certainly that followed by Sir Walter Scott—makes him a Scot. On page 59 it is stated that Theseus Ambrosius *Introductio in Chaldaicam Linguam* (1539) was "the first book in which Oriental types were used." This is not quite accurate as the Koran is known to have been printed at Venice about the year 1500 (though no copies of the edition are extant), and a Christian liturgy in Arabic was printed at Fano in 1516. These are, however, unimportant slips in a booklet packed with interesting information, the compiling of which must have cost the author much pains. Dr. Mansoor is to be congratulated on his initiative with true Oriental piety he has worthily repaid the hospitality extended to him by his college at Dublin, and told a story of which every Irishman may be proud.

MY TRAVELS THROUGH CHAD By Pierre Olivier Lapie, Croix de Guerre M.C., late Governor of Chad. Translated by Leslie Bull 8½ x 5½ Pp. 198 (John Murray) 10s. net.

The regions with which this work deals are little known to the British public. Their place names are unfamiliar, and few works in English mention them. But in 1940 they constituted the core of French Colonial resistance to Vichy and Hitler, and it was very largely owing to a Frenchman of African descent, M. Eboué, then Lt. Governor of the Territoire-du-Chad, that we and the Americans are both able to establish the vital air routes from Lagos, Takoradi, or Bathurst, on the West Coast of Africa, via Kano, Maiduguri, and Fort Lamy to Khartoum, East Africa and beyond, which replaces the Mediterranean as the air highway to the East. The French Chad Colony—Territoire-du-Chad—stretches from the eastern shores of Lake Chad, north to Fezzan and Libya, east to Darfur and south to the edge of the Congo basin—Ubangi-Shari, as it is called. It extended in 1940, therefore, from regions which were remote from the war—regions of tropical forest—to the verge of the fighting in Libya. From this Chad Colony were organized the famous desert sorties or expeditions to Murzah and Kufra respectively in 1941.

The more northerly regions of Chad Colony have a long and interesting history, for from about 900 A.D. they were the seat of the famous kingdom of Bornu, which from 1000 A.D. down to 1800 A.D. dominated the Sudan from the Niger to the Nile. Its influence still lives in the modern political units of Wadai, Kanem, and the British Emirate of Bornu, which covers a considerable area in North-Eastern Nigeria.

This work, written by Captain Lapie, who was Military Governor of the Territoire-du-Chad in 1941-42, is simply a record of his impressions of the places and people which he saw during a sequence of official visits to the Middle Shari, Bagermi, Wadai, Kanem, etc. omitting any discussion of current problems, military or civil—omitting, in fact, the sort of local colour which to the general reader is the most entertaining part of books of travel.

On the other hand objective descriptions of places and a miscellaneous collection of information about them and their inhabitants are entertaining and concise, and give a good picture of the varied assortment of countries and peoples comprised in the Chad Colony.

For instance, the description of Lake Chad though of slender scientific value, is a very good and true account of Lake Chad as it appears to the casual traveller or official. Similarly, the accounts of Ford Lany and of the Lower Shari of Wadai and of a visit to Darfur in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan are good living pictures of regions which have changed less than most parts of Africa in the last fifty years. The account of the French expedition to Kufra in 1941 is also interesting and contains information not accessible from other sources to the general public.

It is interesting to note that on Hitler's birthday April 20 1941, Captain Lapie at a conference of Chiefs of Departments of Chad Territory invited them here in Chad, to sow the seeds of the rebirth of France, *inter alia* by the formation among the Chiefs of an élite capable of collaborating with us in a system of government by the Chiefs which will be halfway between direct rule (necessary at the outset of colonization) and indirect administration—a loose and dangerous term only too often interpreted as an invitation to slackness.

One may perhaps be inclined to doubt whether the stimulating effects of such a conference on the material side of the fighting French war effort will have much direct connection with the rebirth of France—but it is indirectly of great interest and importance not only to the France of the future but to the world in general that these hitherto rather remote regions of North Central Africa and Chad have sprung so prominently into notice, as evidenced by the publication of this book. Assuredly the Sudan belt, already an important route for war transport, will in future be one of the most frequented air routes in the world, for there is probably no part of the earth's surface equal to the Sudan in extent which enjoys like advantages in the way of water and supplies, settled weather for most of the year, and absence of any appreciable obstacles to land transport and the creation of aerodromes.

From Brazil or even from the West Indies the natural stepping-stone in Africa has been since Elizabethan times, and is now more than ever, the coast of Guinea. From Guinea the next stepping-stone on the voyage east is the Territoire-du-Chad—the main topic of this work. From Chad the routes diverge to Egypt, to the Nile at Khartoum, or to East Africa.

The work, in short, is essentially propagandist in inception and execution, it owes its existence to General de Gaulle who told the author: "You must write down everything you've told me!" It is in fact, a very readable tribute to the men of many races and cultures who in this part of Africa kept France in the war.

H. R. P.

The views expressed in these pages must be taken as those of the individual contributors. The Asiatic Review does not hold itself responsible for them.

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